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MAY MEETING, 1906.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair. The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper submitted their monthly reports. The Librarian said that the Cabinet which he was authorized to procure for the safe keeping of the Sibley Papers had been completed in a satisfactory manner and put in place since the last meeting.

The Treasurer said that under the provisions of Mr. Sears's Declaration of Trust it would be necessary for the Society to pass a vote with reference to the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund; and on his motion, it was

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be applied to such purposes as the Council may direct.

Messrs. Edward Stanwood, Alexander McKenzie, and Charles C. Smith were appointed a Committee to publish the Proceedings for the current year.

Messrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, S. Lothrop Thorndike, and Charles C. Smith were appointed a House Committee.

The President announced the death of two Corresponding Members, Richard Garnett, LL.D., who died in London, April 13, and M. Gustave Vapereau, who died in Paris April 18.

Mr. BROOKS ADAMS called attention to the proposed changes in the western end of the Old State House in connection with the Washington Street subway now in process of construction, and to the desirability of an expression of opinion by the Society as to its preservation, with the least possible injury to any part of the building, as an historical monument of great interest. After a brief discussion in which the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, and THOMAS W. HIGGINSON took part, Messrs. Samuel

A. Green, Brooks Adams, and Edwin D. Mead were appointed a Committee to represent the Society in the matter.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, a delegate from the Society to the recent commemoration at Philadelphia, submitted the following report:—

Since the last meeting I have attended as a delegate from this Society the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, which was held in Philadelphia on April 17, 18, 19, and 20, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, founded by Franklin, and the oldest scientific body in the country. The exercises continued for four days, were highly instructive to the visiting delegates and others, and were fraught with great interest. When preliminary arrangements were made, the exact date of his birth (January 17) was not included in the period of commemoration, owing to the possible inclemency of the weather at midwinter, but the time selected included the anniversary week of his death. As it happened, the conditions could not have been more favorable or propitious than they were. Delegates were present from the four quarters of the globe; and during the celebration messages of congratulation were received by cable from various scientific associations in foreign countries.

The exercises of the first day (Tuesday) began in the evening, when an historical address was made by the President of the Philosophical Society, Professor Smith; and a reception was given to delegates who represented scientific societies and institutions of learning throughout the civilized world.

The exercises of the second day (Wednesday) were held at different sessions in the Hall of the Society, in Independence Square, and consisted of the reading of papers on various subjects of science. At this meeting the news of the earthquake at San Francisco was announced, with its awful accompaniments, and created the deepest sensation. In the evening there were addresses elsewhere.

Among the exercises of the third day (Thursday) were ceremonies at the grave of Franklin; and on the last day addresses were made on Franklin as Citizen and Philanthropist, by Horace Howard Furness (H. C. 1854); as Printer and Philosopher, by Charles William Eliot (H. C. 1853); and as

Statesman and Diplomatist, by Joseph Hodges Choate (H. C. 1852). These three addresses were the only ones on the career of the great philosopher; and I could not help but notice that they all were by men of Massachusetts origin, like Franklin himself, and that they all for several years were students in Harvard College at the same time.

I ought to add that a grand banquet took place in the evening at the end of the celebration, and that the delicacies of the bill of fare were among the least attractive features of the entertainment, where toasts and speeches held sway.

In this brief report I have noted by no means all the important incidents that happened during the four days of festivity, but only those that left an impression on my mind. The proceedings of the affair, from beginning to end, were well worthy of the subject, and were conducted in excellent taste; and everything passed off successfully.

Mr. HENRY G. PEARSON, having been called on, read the following paper:—

The Emancipation Concert in Music Hall on January First, 1863.

Many as were the forms of rejoicing in the North on January 1, 1863, over the accomplishment of negro emancipation, the means of commemorating the day in Boston had the note of distinction that is proper to the city. Nowhere else in America could musicians have been brought together to render, and an audience been assembled to enjoy, a concert of such high musical excellence as that then given in Music Hall. Its character as a festival of rejoicing was intensely local, Bostonian to the last degree; but it was more than that. Provincialism which stands for the exclusive cultivation of excellence is the truest cosmopolitanism. So this concert, celebrating an eternal principle of humanity in the eternal language of art, is not a mere instance but a type; is lifted from the region of the particular into the realm of the universal.

The special cultivation of music in Boston fifty or sixty years ago has left many records. The old Music Hall still stands, the bronze statue of Beethoven which looked down upon the audience from the platform has found a place in the new building of the Conservatory of Music, the great organ is something more than a mere memory. Part of the record is

in the names of men,—Otto Dresel, Carl Zerrahn. Thanks to such influences it became the accepted doctrine in Boston that music, above all, the music of Beethoven, is one of the great realities of the soul. Traces of this belief have descended to us and have been kept alive among us by the conviction of mind and heart which has maintained the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which has used it to celebrate a stately birthday, to commemorate a noble life, as in the memorial concerts given from time to time, and which has caused to be set above the orchestra in its new house of sounds the one word, Beethoven. Of course the cult was not widespread,—or, rather, fashion took it up and then dropped it,—but the devotion to it of those who stood for whatever was best assured it a high place in local esteem.

A plan, therefore, to hail the day of emancipation by a concert in which orchestra, chorus, and soloists should interpret joy and freedom by means of music could bring its own recommendation to those whose support was necessary to make the realization successful. To the typical Bostonian—I avoid using Dr. Holmes's word—it was altogether right and proper so to do. The plan originated in the ingenious mind of James M. Barnard, the philanthropist. Inspired with the thought when he first read Lincoln's preliminary proclamation in September, he had opened the subject to John S. Dwight, whose enthusiasm and knowledge of musical ways and means determined the form of the concert. An honorary committee of arrangements was brought together, among its members being Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Dr. Holmes, Edward Everett Hale, James T. Fields, and F. H. Underwood. Mr. B. J. Lang undertook the work of drilling the chorus, Carl Zerrahn was to conduct the band of musicians which gave orchestral concerts in Boston, Otto Dresel promised to write music for Dr. Holmes's "Army Hymn," and to play the solo part in a Beethoven pianoforte concerto.

In the selection of the numbers for the programme Dwight's sure instinct and exacting taste were seen. "Patriotic concerts," so called, with their lusty strains, were familiar throughout the North; but this was not a time for "war songs" and "national airs." "The 'Hail Columbias' and 'John Browns,'" wrote Dwight, "are all well enough in their way and in their proper places; but they have no right in an

artistic programme, any more than cabbages and turnips in a bouquet of flowers. They will be all in all, or nothing; so will art." Accordingly, the programme was thoroughgoing. "Every piece in it," he explained, "is good music, in the highest sense of Art; yet every piece was sure (as it then proved) to interest an earnest miscellaneous audience, however large, and make its poetic adaptation to the occasion felt." Besides three great orchestral works of Beethoven — an overture, a concerto, and the Fifth Symphony — there were a long selection from Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise," a chorus from "Elijah," the "Hallelujah Chorus" from the "Messiah," the number by Dresel, and the overture to "William Tell." In point of length the concert-goer of to-day would be somewhat appalled by such a programme; in the matter of quality there is nothing that he would not take quite as a matter of course.

The practical arrangements for the concert presented not a few points of difficulty. When the plan was at last under way, the time was short, and the engagements of musicians were many. The orchestra, in particular, was to play on New Year's eve at a ball in Springfield. To the credit of the town there was more than one choral society; by the same token there was jealousy. Accordingly, the members of the chorus had to be obtained by personal invitation and persuasion, and the body formed was not homogeneous, wonted to itself. Worst of all, the most difficult piece on the programme had to be risked without a rehearsal of orchestra and chorus together. In spite of zeal on the part of leaders and rank and file, it was felt by everybody that if haply the concert should succeed it would be by faith and enthusiasm only, by the pure inspiration of the hour.

New Year's eve was a night of wild storm, but the fear that the orchestra might be blocked on the road to Boston vanished when day brought clear sunshine and a brilliant sky. Of a large audience there had never been any doubt, and the numbers who thronged to Music Hall early in the afternoon were a curious mingling of diverse elements in the life of the town, — abolitionists and musical amateurs, radicals and conservatives, — all brought together by the joint appeal of art and liberty.

Gladly as they came, however, and eagerly as they waited the revelation of the music, their rejoicing for the negro and

his freedom was as yet only the rejoicing of hope. It was three o'clock on the afternoon of the first of January, but the President's proclamation of Emancipation had not been issued. In those days journalism when it had nothing to say practised the reserve of brevity rather than used verbiage, and the morning papers had contained nothing more than a two-line announcement that the proclamation would not be ready till the next day. Historically speaking, this delay of a few hours is insignificant; emotionally, with that tense audience, it counted for much. They were met together to celebrate not the promise, but the deed. The deed was still wanting, and doubt and depression could have their way unhampered. To a city whose aristocratic instincts had been gratified by leaders like Daniel Webster and later Charles Sumner, — both men of magniloquent protestations, — the homely democratic fashion of Lincoln — “pegging away,” in his own expressive phrase — seemed the outward sign of a mere hand-to-mouth politician. Such a man the people of Boston had not yet learned to trust. Here again, historically speaking, the doubt of the President's pledged word is absurd; emotionally, its effect could not be disregarded. “As I walked about this morning,” wrote one sensitive lady in Boston, from whose record of the celebration I shall quote frequently, “I listened every moment to hear the newsboys cry the Proclamation; and as hour after hour passed and nothing came, the feeling of disappointment was very keen.”

This audience, swayed by the blended sensations of expectancy, doubt, and joy, now heard the rap of the conductor's baton for attention. Announcement was made that Ralph Waldo Emerson would read by way of prologue a poem inspired by the day. More than once had Dwight urged upon Emerson the committee's request, but so uncertain had the poet been of his power to meet this supreme exigency that he had refused to allow his name to be put upon the programme. Inspiration, it seemed, was denied him; as he wrote to Dwight, the poem was impossible without a good night's sleep, which lately he had sought in vain. But at the eleventh hour the boon was granted, and he came to the hall fresh from the presence of his muse. “He was perfectly calm till he came forward,” says the writer of the journal which I have already quoted, “and then his awkward, ungainly form trem-

bled from head to foot with irrepressible excitement, and his eyes flashed with the true fervor of a poet. His poem was written upon different scraps of blue and white paper, and he kept them in place by placing a book over the edge of them on a music stand; but whenever he took them to turn one over, his hands could scarcely hold the sheet, and at all other times he kept them tightly clenched by his side, or moved them in nervous, strangely animated gestures. He seemed like the Pythian priestess, animated with the sacred fire." Indeed, the solemnity of an oracular utterance must have thrilled in the words:—

"God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more."

And again:—

"To-day unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!

"Pay ransom to the owner
And fill his bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is the owner,
And ever was. Pay him."

The music began. The overture to "Egmont," with its martial suggestions from trumpet, drum, and fife, was adequate for its place. Then came the number on which was staked everything. In Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise" occurs a dramatic setting of the passage from Isaiah beginning, "Watchman, what of the night?" First a tenor voice sings a set aria to the words: "The sorrows of death had closed all around me, and hell's dark terrors had got hold upon me, with trouble and deep heaviness. But said the Lord, Come, arise from the dead, and awake thou that sleepest, I bring thee salvation." Then follows a recitative, the voice flinging out its phrases above the tense tremolo of the strings. "Watchman, will the night soon pass? The watchman only said: Though the morning will come, the night will come also. Ask ye, inquire ye, ask if ye will, inquire ye, return again, ask: Watchman, will the night soon pass?" Three times the cry to the watchman is uttered, each repetition rising in pitch and in intensity. Between the calls the wood-wind utters anxious, penetrating

cries. At the end the voice stands out alone, and when the last tone of the agonized inquiry ceases, there is silence. Heart-beats tell the length of it, while the audience waits and waits for the reply that must come: —

“Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence?”

At last a single soprano voice, unaccompanied, mounting on the tones of the major chord, and dwelling on one high note, brings the answer. “The night is departing, departing.” The full orchestra comes crashing in, and the chorus, taking up the melody and the words, sings jubilantly, “The night is departing, the day is approaching; therefore let us cast off the works of darkness, and let us gird on the armor of light. The night is departing.” Never could music be more precisely adapted to the event. “That moment,” is written in the journal, “can never be forgotten; it contained all of feeling that we are capable of; we understood the whole then.”

Still another climax of emotion was in store for the audience. Let it be told in words written on that day. “As soon as the intermission commenced, Mr. Underwood came to the front of the platform and quietly said: ‘Ladies and gentlemen, I am requested by the committee of arrangements to inform you that the expected Proclamation of the President has been issued and is now being transmitted over the wires to New York.’ The scene that followed can be remembered, can be felt, but cannot be described. Indeed, in the midst of the strong emotions that crowded thick and fast, what passed before our eyes was scarcely seen and little noticed. Shouts, cheers, waving of handkerchiefs were confusedly mingled together, almost deadened by the convulsive beating of my own heart. I think but one such moment can come to mortal man. After quiet had settled again over the excited throng, Mr. Quincy, from a seat at the back of the house, read General Saxton’s proclamation to the freedmen of South Carolina, summoning them to the headquarters of the First South Carolina Volunteers to hear the President’s Proclamation read January 1. This was greeted with three cheers for Abraham Lincoln.”

Long as the concert was, with its choruses, its concerto, and its mighty symphony, inspiration was granted to those gathered there both to render and to listen; upon floor and platform the genius of music wrought its perfect spell. One of the

great issues of life stood revealed in terms of art; in the cry of violins, the throb of drums, the uplifted song of many voices, was borne to the spirit of men the meaning of human freedom. And above them all stood the form of Beethoven, in his hand a scroll which bore the notes of the Choral Symphony, his own message bidding mankind to rejoice.

The PRESIDENT presented a copy of Williams's "Rise and Fall of the Model Republic," and said:—

Turning over, recently, certain literary material pertaining to the Civil War, with a view to relieving my book-shelves, I came across a volume, published in London in 1863, entitled *The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic*. Its author was one James Williams, a Southerner, and a man of some mark apparently, as on the title-page he is described as "late American Minister to Turkey." The book is dedicated to "The friends of rational liberty and to the adversaries of despotic government whether administered under the rule of a single tyrant or of a multitude." I have tried to get some further information about Williams, but with very unsatisfactory results. He seems still to be vaguely recalled in Eastern Tennessee as once "a flourishing man of considerable wealth," and the proprietor of a warehouse at Knoxville. What was known as an "old line Whig," he apparently joined forces with the Democrats in the presidential canvass of 1856, and rendered service on the stump and with his pen to the Buchanan cause. He was known as "Captain" Williams, and his appointment to Turkey, which he received from Buchanan in 1858, and held until the early part of 1861, was strongly recommended by Andrew Johnson among others. He published during the war a second work, entitled *The South Vindicated*, said to have been the first book copyrighted by the Confederacy; but I have not come across any copy of it. One of the submerged in the Civil War deluge, he was never "reconstructed," and though it is believed that he visited the United States once or possibly twice after leaving Turkey, he never again resided here. He died in Gratz, Austria, about three years after the close of the war. His book is merely part of the flotsam of the great cataclysm, in which he seems to have been a minor actor, and of which he was one of the innumerable victims, now forgotten.

Before disposing as mere rubbish of the copy of Williams's book, which somehow had come into my possession, I turned over its pages to see if there might by chance be in it something of value. In doing so, I came across certain passages so very characteristic of the time and the temper of discussion then prevailing, that they seemed to me worth preserving in our Proceedings. Taken as a whole the volume has no appreciable value; but those particular passages ought, I thought, to be embalmed as flies in amber,—as curiosities of literature, if nothing more.

Moreover, it is always desirable to avail ourselves of any opportunity to see ourselves through others' eyes. A good view of this kind can hardly fail to be salutary. In this volume, for instance, I find a pen-and-ink portraiture of the New England congregationalist minister. There have always been a number greater or less of this highly respected class on the rolls of our Society. We have some now. It therefore affords me no inconsiderable satisfaction to hold this looking-glass up before our associates, Dr. De Normandie and Dr. Gordon, and ask them whether, in the image reflected, they fail to see themselves:—

“Behold the descendant of the Puritan! Two hundred years have wrought many changes in the moral, political, and social world. Kings have become plebeians, and plebeians kings. Empires have passed away, and others have been created. Old systems have been superseded by new ones, and whether or not the world has grown better and wiser its whole aspect has been altered. But the Puritan of the type we are now considering has remained unchanged in the harsh features of his nature, however much he may have been obliged to yield to the force of public opinion in the outward manifestations of his ruling passion. He is no more a regicide, because in the land where his lot is cast there are no more kings to kill. He no longer drowns or burns witches, for his ancestors exterminated them long ago. He no longer buys and sells savages in order to ‘bring them to a knowledge of the true and living faith,’ for the last Indian of all the tribes which peopled the wilderness has perished before the unrelenting despotism which was enforced against them by his forefathers. He no longer hangs other Christians, nor inflicts upon them the more lenient chastisement of stripes and banishment, for non-conformity to his peculiar doctrines; but he would exterminate the Southerners with fire and sword, because they are not willing to submit to his dictation in the management of their domestic affairs. He would enslave, or if need

be, slay twenty millions of freemen in order to confer upon four millions of Africans what he calls freedom ; but he would re-enslave these again if they transgressed one jot or tittle of the moral law as expounded by himself.

"He whom we are now considering is not only a parson — an 'ex-pounder of God's word,' and a teacher of morals, but he is a politician. He does not preach to-day in the pulpit against the sins denounced by Christ and his apostles, and deliver a stump speech to-morrow upon the party politics of the day ; but in either place and in all places he blends the duties of the two together. His sermon is always a political harangue interlarded with phrases originating in the rum-shop — his political harangue a sermon abounding in scriptural quotations. He may only be properly described by the appellation of 'political parson.'

"You search in vain over the lines of his strongly marked countenance, and gaze into his cold calm eye, to find some trace of human sympathy or of human weakness. His features are never relaxed into a smile, except when he contemplates the consummation of some event which would make others weep. He feels no sentiment of compassion for the slave, but he hates the master with all the ferocity of his nature. His brow grows darker when he is told that the African slave is happy and contented with his lot ; but his soul is filled with a joy unspeakable as he listens to the recital of the bloody deeds of a John Brown ; and he straightway falls upon his knees and gives thanks to God that 'he has vouchsafed to his servant this great boon.' You may respect him for the strong points in his character ; but you would never seek to be his boon companion. He may excite an emotion of fear, but never a sentiment of love. Whether engaged in stealing slaves from the coast of Africa, or assassinating the white men to whom he sold them, for the sin of being slave-holders, he always professes to be 'doing his duty as a servant of the Lord.' When the work of the day is finished he sings a psalm, reads a chapter in the Bible, says a prayer, and retires to the enjoyment of tranquil slumbers."

Burns long ago exclaimed : —

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us !"

and in this case, so far as the congregationalist divine is concerned, the prayer has been answered. In the portrayal I have quoted it is now given to Messrs. De Normandie and Gordon to gaze on their own lineaments as seen by one portion of their fellow countrymen only half a century back.

But, levity aside, I submit that the foregoing extract from a volume written by a Confederate, and printed in London in

the year 1863, is a most suggestive and consequently valuable scrap of evidence for the historian of the Civil War period, — one well worthy of preservation. It throws a strong gleam of light on the psychological conditions which prevailed anterior to 1861, and led up to the crisis which then occurred. Somewhere in the correspondence of the late Dr. Francis Lieber there is a remark I have seen quoted, I think by our associate Mr. Rhodes,¹ that, during the period immediately antecedent to the Civil War, the North and South reproduced the conditions noticed by some classic Greek observer at the time of the Peloponnesian War. The two parts of the common country were unintelligible to each other, — they spoke different languages. The extract I have given from Williams's book affords a good illustration of the correctness of this remark. Another illustration, on the other side, might be found in fiction by turning the pages of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and in fact in the John Brown raid. John Brown, it will be remembered, was absolutely persuaded that the condition of slavery was so cruel and so abhorrent to the black that it would only be necessary to raise the standard of insurrection to cause all Virginia to break into revolt. Three years later practical experience convinced us that the presence of the Union armies in the heart of the slave States led to no servile unrest. As for *Uncle Tom* and *Legree*, they were just about as remote from the general Southern standard of slave and slave-driver as Mr. Williams's congregationalist minister is from those of the type intimately known by us here. The one and the other were equally caricatures.² Yet each side believed implicitly in the correctness of its own characterization of the other. Unless this fact is firmly grasped by the historian through just such contemporary portrayals as that quoted from the volume I now present to the Society, the true inwardness of the situation which made inevitable our Civil War cannot be understood.

Mr. JAMES FORD RHODES read a paper of considerable length entitled "*Negro-carpet-bag-rule in South Carolina*," which was listened to with much interest, and elicited remarks

¹ *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 189.

² In John C. Reed's book *The Brothers' War* there is a very suggestive chapter (pp. 161-207) on "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*," written from the standpoint of an intelligent Southerner forty years after Emancipation.

from Messrs. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON and MOORFIELD STOREY. As it was not the wish of the writer that this paper should be printed in the Proceedings, and as it is the recognized intention of the Society not to publish in its volumes discussions as to matters of recent political controversy, no abstract of this paper or of the discussion which followed its presentation is here given.

Mr. Charles C. Smith communicated for Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, of Washington D. C., a Corresponding Member, a large mass of letters written by William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia Aurora, with an introductory note by Mr. Ford : —

Of the newspapers devoted to the Jefferson or anti-Federalist policy, the best known and perhaps the ablest edited was the "Aurora," published in Philadelphia. Established by Benjamin Franklin Bache, the grandson of Franklin, its purpose was to criticise the acts and intentions of the Federalists, of Washington and of John Adams, and to build up a Republican party in Pennsylvania. Bache died of a fever, and William Duane, an Irish-American, married the widow and succeeded to the editorship and proprietorship of the paper. As an editor he was much abler than Bache, better trained in writing, more experienced in management of men, and of more liberal political views. Bache criticised men rather than measures, while to Duane the policy rather than the man was the object of attack.

Little is known of his early career, though it has been asserted that both in England and in India he had passed through a martyrdom, suffering for his too outspoken opinions. Public men were sensitive, but the large number of refugees who sought to escape persecution from those high in power by coming to the United States more than sufficed to supply the journals with able, unscrupulous, and often scandalous characters. Duane's exact offences in those two countries are not known ; but he came to Philadelphia and found congenial occupation on the "Aurora." His friendship, almost intimacy, and his loyalty to Jefferson constitute his claims for recognition ; and the letters now printed prove this friendship, while casting a somewhat curious light upon his disinterestedness, upon the vicissitudes of journalism, and upon the views of

public office and its rewards entertained by himself and his great patron. His ambition was great, and his thirst for public employment insatiable. But his constant need for money curbed his endeavors and limited his activity, exercising a wholesome correction to a spirit that might have developed into the blackguardism of Callender, Lyon, or Cheetham, while obliging him to quarrel with his friends even more generally than with his enemies. The "Aurora" had a large circulation in its first years, but the actual advent of the Jefferson administration raised competitors, and Duane had a hard struggle to maintain himself by the newspaper. He sought aid again and again from Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, of whose cause he regarded himself the champion. Having suffered in the "reign of terror," — the Republican name for the administration of John Adams, — and having been persecuted by the Senate for his writings, he looked to his patrons for rewards adequate to his own idea of the debt. His wish to obtain government contracts for printing and stationery met with the approval even of Gallatin, who was personally above any suspicion of wrong intent.

Albert Gallatin to Thomas Jefferson.

[December 15, 1801.]

DEAR SIR, — The enclosed requires but little comment. Why Mr Beckley did not divide the printing between Mr Duane and Mr Smith I do not know; but I am sure that most of our friends are so chagrined at it, that they speak of altering the rules of the House, so as to have the printer appointed by the House & not by the clerk. Mr Smith came here before the fate of the election was ascertained, and at a risk. He was promised by myself and others every reasonable encouragement. But this cannot be construed into an exclusive monopoly. He has already the printing of the laws and of every department; and the Congress business might have been divided.

I wish however that Mr. D's application for purchase of his stationery might be communicated to the several heads of Department; and, if you think it proper, the letter being transmitted by you may be better attended to. We may in the Treasury purchase a part, but cannot pay until Congress shall have made an appropriation; ours being exhausted.

No letters which required immediate answer having been received these three days, I have delayed acting on them, until I had got rid of

the report to Congress. This is the reason of your not receiving any these two days.

With sincere respect & Affection, your obed^t Serv^t

ALBERT GALLATIN.

In the expectation of obtaining these contracts Duane opened a store in Washington, which was entirely unsuccessful from every point of view and left him in debt. Harassed by lawsuits and by finding increasing difficulty in obtaining the necessary credit or in continuing the old credits, he turned to other occupations, and the troubles with England pointed to a military career as possible and even profitable. His Military Library is but little known and is less esteemed. As a money-making scheme it would not have succeeded had he not sold an edition to the government, a sale based more upon favoritism than upon the merits of the work. His career in the army was of little credit to himself, and is told in brief in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.¹ Poor, embarrassed, and by his conduct deprived of friends, Duane sought many ways of bettering his condition, but with little success.

As his financial troubles became worse, his temper became more uncertain and irascible. No one appeared to trust him, his friends fearing him quite as much as did his enemies, and never knowing the day when he would turn upon them and abuse them with the knowledge he had gained in their intercourse. He criticised Madison and opposed Monroe; he fought Gallatin for reasons which had little foundation and were peculiarly exasperating to Gallatin's friends. His course in State politics was marked by a personal and intemperate bias that made him feared and hated. He was on the losing side, and the "Aurora" became less and less influential and profitable, and ceased to be the organ of Republicanism. Jefferson remained his friend, seeking opportunities to aid him, and Duane remained loyal to Jefferson; yet even Jefferson recognized his errors. He wrote in 1811: "I believe Duane to be a very honest man, and sincerely republican; but his passions are stronger than his prudence, and his personal as well as general antipathies render him very intolerant." Thirteen years worked no change, and Duane transferred his pen to the aid of the opponents of the Republicans. John Quincy

¹ See vol. v. pp. 112, 117.

Adams describes him as a man of talents, having much knowledge crammed without order or method into his head, and of indefatigable industry. But he was known to be in the market for sale to the highest bidder, and these letters measure the burden of debt as well as the burden of moral qualities that invited hostility rather than friendship.

To ———.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1800

The cabinet here is in a very discordant condition. They hang together only like wretched mariners on detached planks; if one lets go, the whole go. You will be surprised to learn that an indictment has been found against me for publishing the celebrated *letters of Liston*, seized on Sweezey. The sheriff of Berks and two others are included in the indictment; but, *more strange still!* they were sent to me, and published by the express direction of Gov. Mifflin, after being opened by the express authority of Robert Wharton, our *good* Mayor.

I am told that they have withdrawn the indictment found against me, at Norristown, last fall, predicated on my assertion concerning British influence, as declared by Mr. Adams. It seems they found out that I had the actual letter of Mr. Adams in my possession.

Mr. Cooper, late of Manchester (you know him personally and well), is to be tried on sedition on Saturday. He pleads his own cause. He applied for a subpoena of the President yesterday. The court refused; and, as I have been told, the judge declared that the President could not be *affected* by any legal proceedings, unless by an impeachment; so that we have ONE MAN above the law. Chase presides, and Peters is the puisne judge. I have not been out of town; have lived mostly in my own house; and have been several times on the parade with the legion. [Mr. Duane is a captain, we believe, in that corps.] I keep retired only because there is no magistrate to be found, who has a knowledge of his duty and his rights, or virtue or courage to act upon the *habeas corpus* right. If there were, I should take care to be arrested immediately. In the present circumstances, my only course is to defeat their malice, and give a good example to others.

Yours,

WILLIAM DUANE.

To Thomas Jefferson.¹

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1801

SIR, — The papers accompanying were given me for communication to you, they originated in the following manner. Prior to my setting

¹ Jeff. MSS.

out for Lancaster in the month of October last, Mr. Lee, the person whom they concern, called on me and stated that he had been dismissed from his situation for discovering the removal of papers from the Department of State by means of a false key, and wished me to publish the facts. I objected to publish unless he would commit the matters to writing and depose to them before a magistrate, which he offered to do. Thereupon I wrote a note to Mr. Gardner, requesting him to attend to the matter while I was absent, which he did, and the matters stated in the accompanying papers were given in the presence of Mr. Gardner and Mr. James Ker, of Philadelphia. I did not think the facts so strongly stated as he at first represented them to me, and therefore did not publish them.

The receipt of a letter from Mr. Gardner induces me to lay the papers now before you. The poor man appears to have been sacrificed for his fidelity, and to be reduced to the extreme of wretchedness. Perhaps in any arrangements that may be hereafter made, some situation of equal value with what he held before might be found in the Custom house or elsewhere.

I have no other knowledge of the man than what arises from the occurrences in this case—and am impelled only by duty to present the papers and state what I know on the subject, submitting the case with deference to your consideration.

I am with respect, your obedt. Servt.

Recd. March 2. [Endorsement by Jefferson.]

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, May 10, 1801

SIR,— Mr. W. P. Gardner who will present this letter carries with him a small box containing impressions of two medals, which I have had by me some time past waiting for an opportunity safe and suitable. Mr. Gardner is a man of great worth in every civil relation, and is one of those who was compelled to quit the Treasury Department thro' the injuries done him on account of his political opinions. He is no ordinary man, and to his private virtues and political integrity I can testify. He is a native of this city.

The medals of which you will receive copies were engraved by a young man of the name of C. J. *Reick*, a native of Germany, but a republican, and on that account obliged to fly his native country. It appears that he engraved the medal of *ITALICUS* in secret, and from his own account had an interview with *the hero* at Rastadt. It seems that in order to come to the United States, he had indented himself, and is now in this city, tho' not in absolute indigence or villainage, is yet

¹ Jeff. MSS.

circumstanced so as to render his situation irksome to him, as must be supposeable from the merits of his works, and his personal manners.

Hearing of his worth, and knowing what it is to be in a strange land without a knowledge of its language, it recurred to me, that the cap of liberty had been erased from our public coins, and other innovations of a tendency correspondent with the views of certain weak men made during the last administration ; and hearing on enquiry, that there were public medals to be cut ; I thought it a duty in various respects to rescue this man if possible from the unfitness of his condition, and to make his merits known to you.

As a connoisseur I do not pretend to judge of the Medals, but as a person conversant with analogous branches of the arts, they strike me as of superior character. If on consideration the merits of the artist should be such as to entitle him to your patronage, and there are any services in his profession upon which he could be employed, it would greatly serve the man, and afford me extreme delight to have been the means of rescuing him from his present situation. I advised him to draft a letter to you, which he did in German, of which a translation, tho' very imperfectly done, I think proper to forward herewith. His application is confined to the knowledge of two others and myself. Should there be any commands for him, I shall with great pleasure receive and communicate them to him.

Permit me to mention, that I have found it necessary to enter into the Stationary and Bookselling business, the hostility of the Custom House, and the abuse in the Post Office, rendering all ideas of profit from my newspaper hopeless. Should no engagements be made for the supply of Stationary for the public offices, I shall be obliged by the contracts for that service, which I trust I shall be able to execute as well and on as reasonable terms as any other person.

If no arrangements have been made for obtaining the books to supply the public Library, ordered by the late Congress, my acquaintance with men of letters in England, and the most eminent Booksellers, would enable me to procure them with more advantage than any other person not similarly circumstanced could.

These favors I should be grateful for, and as they are professional, I trust it will not be considered as presuming that I suggest them. In the season of danger I laid aside personal consideration, in the return of a milder season it is incumbent upon me to make provision for my little progeny, and the little progeny of my predecessor, the descendants of Franklin who have become mine, to which another has been just added by the birth of a daughter.

I have not permitted myself to touch upon politics, because I am not to suppose that you have not other channels by which you can obtain information from hence ; and particularly as I am apprehensive of intruding

too much upon your leisure. If, however, it should be supposed that the confidence which is reposed in me should enable me to give less partial views of the state of parties and political interests and characters in this state, than those who are the interested actors in them, I shall be at all times ready to state faithfully and if necessary frequently such information as may appear to me useful and authentic; at present I think it of the utmost importance that the true state of politics in Pennsylvania should be known, particularly as an election occurs in October, and a governmental Election not far remote, for which movements are already making.

I have the honor to be your sincere and respectful servt.

Tuesday noon. The trial on the Indictment at the instigation of the Senate, postponed this instant to October, then to be tried peremptorily!!!

Dr. Franklin's daughter, Mrs. Bache, is now at table, and requests to be particularly remembered to you.

To James Madison.

PHILADELPHIA, May 10, 1801

SIR,— Without any other title to the liberty I take, that [than] what may be allowed me from the respect I have learned to entertain for your virtues and talents, exerted in the cause of my country, and which I have in a much humbler sphere endeavored to emulate, I now take the liberty of addressing you, and even in this first instance to solicit a favor.

The publication of "*The Aurora*" tho' more extensive in its circulation than any other paper in the Union, is so much cramped in its funds by the active hostility of the Custom House, that the only source of profit to such a paper that of *Advertising* is too inadequate to render it a pursuit eligible for any man who has a family to provide for in any other than times where public security supercede the calls of personal Interest. I believe I have not been backward in the season of danger. In this halcyon period it is necessary that I should provide for the little progeny of my own, and the little progeny of my predecessor, the descendants of Franklin, who by marriage have fallen under my wing. I have therefore sought to establish myself in a business analogous to that with which habit and experience have made me familiar — I mean the *bookselling* and *Stationary* business.

My present purpose is to solicit, should no engagements be already made, that I may have the supply of the Department of State with Stationary of every description.

Permit me also to suggest, that as provision has been made for furnishing a library for the use of Congress, that I should be glad to

undertake the provision of such books as may be required, and as I have had some experience, having resided in England for five years, and am acquainted not only with the first booksellers but numbers of the first literary characters in that Country, I could undertake the importation of the Books for the public Library under advantages that few others possess.

I have not hitherto asked any favor of the administration, tho' honored by the confidence and good opinion of I believe the majority of the People of America — and I seek no other favor than such as may be given and received with honor and independence to the Administration and to me.

I took the liberty of addressing a letter to Mr. Lincoln a few days ago, wherein I urged, that it would be rendering an useful service to the public, and to the republican printers, if the latter were authorised to publish the Laws of the Union upon these terms. That such papers only should be authorised to print them, as it was intended should be in future authorised; that if contracts had been made to the amount authorised by law with other printers by the late administration, then those who should now be authorised should not demand payment unless Congress should be willing to grant it; this step would contribute to the circulation of the laws themselves, and of the republican newspapers, and it would counteract in a degree the artful stroke of the late administration of pensioning papers in advance to oppose the present administration. If it were necessary, I could furnish a list of all the papers which have been so active and useful as to lay claim to the attention of the administration.

If at any time any service might be required of me, or any political information concerning this city or state, it would give me particular satisfaction to furnish any service of which I am capable for the public advantage.

I am, Sir, with Sincere respect and esteem

Your obedt Ser^t

W^m DUANE, *Editor of the Aurora.*

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, June 10, 1801

Sir,— I was honored by yours of the 23 May, which I should have acknowledged before could I have found a person to whose care I might entrust the delivery of a letter. Lieut. McIlroy, late commander of the *Augusta*, has informed me of his intention to proceed this morning, and I embrace the opportunity of writing by him. Mr.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

McIlroy it appears incurred the enmity of captain Sever, by drinking Mr. Jefferson's health in the West Indies and attributes his dismissal to that and the like political causes, which he considers as particularly unfortunate at this time from the experience which he had as an officer for six years in the Mediterranean on board a British ship of war, in which he rose by merit, tho' originally impressed. I mention these facts from a conviction of their truth, and my personal knowledge of his uncommon merits as a seaman.

The death of F. A. Muhlenburg on the 4th inst. has produced a change in the political prospects in this state. His conduct on the British treaty lost him the confidence of all the independent republicans; the opposite party had determined to run him for Governor, on finding that the General would not be made their instrument; which, I believe, from his being the real agitator of the schism which took place in the last session of our legislature, he would have been willing to become. There is no other character among the Germans of talents and standing equal to the deceased; his capacity as a German writer was admired, and there does not appear to be any one equal to him left. Some of the Germans talked of General Heister, but he is too honest a man to submit to any measure that could produce a division. The consolidation of the republican interest will therefore depend in the first instance on the degree of countenance which the violent men in office meet with, and on the precautions of the Governor in his appointments. There are many disaffected to him, on account of some few appointments already made, and as is usual without just grounds of dissatisfaction. But I make no doubt, that upon the removal of men who have been oppressors and persecutors here, the effect will be a more firm and general adherence than even in the last general Election to the principles by which alone security can be obtained. The continuation of Humphrys as naval constructor has given considerable disquiet, the communications which I have had concerning him, his abuses of trust and wrongs to individuals for opinion sake, would fill several sheets. The remembrance of his son being appointed to France for his assault on Ben. Franklin Bache is as strong as if it happened but a month since. Ever since I have been confined, the republicans and men too of the first credit and standing in the southern district of this city have repeatedly applied to me for information. I have stated as my opinion that nothing would be done hastily, but upon due enquiry no man who had abused his trust to corrupt or persecuting purposes would obtain the confidence of the administration. As they are so kind as to repose considerable confidence in my opinions, I apprehend these assurances tend to quiet them in some measure, tho' there are numbers discontented at the continuance in office of the three principal officers of the Customs.

I communicated to Mr. Reich (the Medal Engraver) the intimation to wait on Mr. Boudinot, which I suppose he has done.

What you are pleased to say with regard to the *prosecutions* exactly agrees with my recollection. I do not precisely recollect what I said to Mr. Gallatin, but when I wrote him I was under the impression, that a course different from your wishes had been pursued. I understood that the Sedition Law being unconstitutional, it would be treated as a nullity; but when I wrote, the prosecution was then coming on in court *under that law*. I could account for this in no other way but by supposing that Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Dallas had mistaken your sentiments, because the agitation of the question in court under that law appeared to me, a recognition of its validity. I feared nothing from the goodness of Mr. Lincoln's heart, but I apprehended lest he should be apprehensive of meeting the displeasure of his Eastern friends by openly opposing that Law; and that therefore his instructions to Mr. Dallas were not so strong as were necessary, or so precise as the spirit of your intentions demanded. It was peculiarly irksome to me on many accounts. I was deprived of Mr. Dallas's legal aid, and Mr. Cooper was engaged in the mission to Luzerne in this State, but remained solely to defend me. Mr. Dickerson tho' possessing the purest esteem and the best dispositions, yet from his youth could not appear to advantage against Mr. Ingersol, a man who entertains the most incurable hatred for me, and was the instigator of the attack which has robbed me of my birthright for the present. I do not recollect feeling any sentiment of dislike to a change of Judicature, and I am sure no change could be worse, from a court where the clerk contrives to pack the Juries out of men who were British soldiers in arms against American Independence and Tories who have never renounced their sworn allegiance to George III. of which a late Jury was composed. Indeed after my efforts to obtain Evidence at Washington, of which General Mason or his brother J. T. Mason can inform you, I see no prospect of ever obtaining any evidence: and if it should ever come on again, I must be obliged to submit it to the discretion of the court; tho' no man can doubt the truth of every tittle uttered in the publication. Could the evidence be brought forward, I certainly was willing to stand a fair trial, but the Court has decided that a commission is a matter of favor — that as I knew the Congress was to be removed to Washington I ought to have considered that before I published — and that I would have the benefit only of such evidence as was within a given distance!

There have been so many of these prosecutions, that I was really bewildered by the mass of evidence necessary to meet them. To have gone to Court upon them all would have left me no time to transact my ordinary business, and Mr. Dallas has so generously and zealously

undertaken my defence on all these cases, that I have avoided wherever I could intruding upon him, leaving to the approach of term the arrangements to be made. I had spoken to him, however, to obtain a state of the causes, which he undertook to forward himself. At present I have no opportunity of communication with him, but upon a deliberate consideration of the situation in which I have stood, and now stand, and the feelings of my family, I do not hesitate to solicit a *nolle prosequi* upon that prosecution.

In absolute peril or in a great struggle for a great good, I believe I should be one of the last to shrink from danger or contest. I am neither shaken in my principles nor broken in spirit. But after the turbulent contest which I have gone thro' with this most remorseless of factions, and injured as I have been in the stigma put on me, contrary to precedent, and under the refusal to accept a crowd of authentic documents as collateral evidence of my birth and attachment to my country, I am shocked. I begin to feel the injury I have sustained, and to consider that it has been done, because I was not base — but because I have been formidable to oppressors. I look at my family and I see united in it those who have been long the victims of Federal persecution along with my off-spring, combining the claims of eight years contest and persecution: the descendants of Franklin and the beloved wife of the amiable and good Bache, become my inheritance and my delightful care.

When I see all my countrymen at peace, and republicanism diffusing concord and harmony, under the reign of liberty and moderation, I cannot but think it hard that I alone should still remain the victim. If I stood alone, had I no concerns but those which are personal, I should scorn to look behind; but when at this moment a combination is entered into to prevent the purchase of books or stationary at a store which I have opened upon a credit — when the Collector of the Customs, seeks to deter Auctioneers and Merchants from advertising in my paper — and when all the profits arising from that paper, do not enable me to disencumber myself from the debts with which it was incumbered during the unexampled struggles and sacrifices of my predecessor, I think I should be insensible to my family interests, if I were not to solicit such protection as may be fairly and justly held out to me, considering that all the hostility towards me arises from the very efforts against those who seek to overwhelm me.

I had determined before the election, that upon the success of the people's choice, I should dispose of the paper and pursue another profession, but I find the hatred so violent against me that it would follow me for ever, and in any other situation I should not possess such formidable means of defence. But the paper, tho' it maintains my family, affords no surplus, even to discharge old debts, which has induced me to extend my views to the bookselling and stationary; if encouraged in

these I may still thrive, or if changes take place here which would influence the mercantile interest, my business would reward my past and future industry.

I have taken the liberty to speak without reserve, because I entertain that opinion of your liberality that you will excuse it. The world think me making a fortune, because I am always cheerful! My friends think it unnecessary to be very particular in their favors in the way of business, because they say industry and talents like mine will always meet reward! The best paper in the United States must of course be the most profitable! But they never consider that there is more money spent in making it a good paper, and more labour than on any two papers in the union! and that this must be the case, or it must become as vapid and dull as those that are more profitable and printed cheaper!

I proposed giving you an outline of the late legal proceedings, but have already taken too much of your time. It is my purpose to petition Congress, and submit to its decision the evidence which the Circuit Court refused.

It is my purpose to carry a sufficient supply of Stationary to Washington, if I should be so fortunate as to be favored by the heads of departments — but unless I have an assurance of their support I cannot subject myself to the heavy debt which I should incur by making a suitable provision. If I had an estimate of the quantities required for a given time, and assurance of favor, I could obtain a stock instantly to any amount.

Believe me with the most sincere respect and attachment, your obed^t Servant.

To Joseph Nancrede.¹

PHILADELPHIA, 30 September, 1801

DEAR SIR, — I received your two letters of the 11th duly, and have ordered as you desire your subscription to cease. Your favoring me as you propose with information from Europe will be a favor which I shall acknowledge with gratitude, and for which the public will have a right to be thankful, for in the present enslaved state of the press in *every nation* of Europe no faithful information can be had from *any*, and truth is only to be arrived at by a judicious examination of what is suffered to be promulgated by rivals.

If you could by any means prevail upon any respectable bookseller in London to become my correspondent, it would be rendering me an essential service. You know very well my present standing, and my having now the contract for serving the public offices of government with stationery, and the Congress; there can be no doubt of my arriving

¹ Bookseller in Boston.

at such a rank in the book-selling and stationery business as must render my correspondence a very eligible one to any man in trade in London. I should prefer the Robinsons, Johnson, or Debrett in London, next to them West & Co., Paternoster Row. Should you *recollect* these hints when in London, as it could not interfere with any pursuit of yours, or of any other friend, it would be doing me a service that I should be proud and ready to return to you on any occasion in any other shape.

Your friend *Dennie*, I admired many years ago, and I believe I was one of the first in America who paid the tribute which I conceived due to his rising talents. He was then known to me only by his writings, and not by name. I consider him still as possessing talents. But Pickering whose *touch* was contagious, ruined him by the aid of *bad company* here, and the rarity of genius and talent among the growth of mercenary young men, he was dazzled and deceived into an opinion of his powers, extremely above their real level. He came to Philadelphia expecting to find this city inhabited by such men as Mæcenas and Cosmo di Medici, but he found that his patrons were Tarquins without magnificence, and Walpoles without profusion. He thought their reign eternal and his fame and fortune secure as if all his fancies were realities. He has been disappointed in everything, and has acted with the indiscretion of a man of no genius. He lost himself and he forgot his country. He was unfortunate in every step and in every project — even the *Port Folio* is now tumbling under its own weight. If you have anything to do with his partner Dickens settle it before you go. Young *Fenno*, part of whose strangely acquired stock in trade they had, has been in this city till this day — bringing about an account which appears to have been saddled with a profusion of luxurious expence. I suspect Denny will go to England — where he will experience ten thousand disappointments which he never dreamt of, and he will there either see his folly and repent — or sink into — But I most sincerely wish him a better fortune and a better fate than he has plunged himself into. The *Port Folio* can not outlive the year. It has outlived its popularity even with its patrons already! I am sorry to have been obliged to contribute to its fall — but I conceived it my duty to attack it, manfully and not meanly as I have been attacked.

I am very much gratified to hear that Mr. Tytler has undertaken System of Geography, for a thousand reasons. His talents, his independence of mind, and above all the deplorable ignorance which prevails thro' every System published hitherto on the subject, requires something to be done. I am proud it is to be done here and by Mr. Tytler, whom tho' I do not personally know, I have long respected. I was personally acquainted in London with his brother who at that time wrote for the Whitehall Evening Post.

I think you are perfectly right in excluding all matter of a *mere* political nature. I do not mean thereby the desertion of truth or correct principles such as were laid down by Locke and Rousseau. But such as are merely of a party nature. Geography is in fact wholly political, as it relates to the power, territory, production, &c., and population of countries. It would afford me the utmost pleasure to contribute all the knowledge I may possess, but I could render Mr. Tytler very little information excepting in what relates to Asia only, where several years residence and an *attempt to compile a Gazette of Asia* while there made me better acquainted with that part of the world than persons who have not had the same opportunities. I once began a Geographical Gazetteer of India with the sanction of Sir Wm. Jones and Sir John Shore, and was permitted access to the Documents of the Revenue Department at Calcutta — but I was afterwards stopt, — for what reason I was only left to conjecture!

What aid I could lend I would most cheerfully do it, but I think the most serviceable aid I could give would be to point out the *fallacies* and *mistakes* of former Systems. I have not seen Mr. Tytler's Geography in Octavo, but I make no doubt that there are many corrections made by him. Indeed in Salmon's and Guthrie's — almost every thing is said but what is fact concerning Asia. They have the outline of the Map, and some names, but every thing else belongs as much to Africa as to Asia. If I could have a perusal of the work which is to be the *Skeleton* of the new system I could very easily go thro' it in a reasonable time. The system laid down in your circular is excellent, and I make no doubt it will repay your pains and expenses with profit. It ought to [be] printed, and the engravings in the best Style possible, in which case you would in Europe only find a market for three or four thousand copies.

It would be impossible for you to derive advantage from the mode in which you put your requisition for Information generally; if you were to put particular questions on the various points, and request answers to them, you would derive great advantage — for example a series of printed questions numbered addressed to every member of Congress at the next Session would secure you information and perhaps subscribers. Some of your questions might be stated in this way —

“1. Are the latitude and longitude of the towns in your district accurately laid down?

“2. What are the natural productions in your district different from those that surround you?

“3. What has been the increase of population in your state, county, or township?” &c., &c.

Accept my respectful wishes for your success.

WM. DUANE.

*To Pierce Butler.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 12, 1801

DE SIR, — I should have replied to yours of the 19th inst. before, had not the urgency of law in the first instance and my *Stationary* engagements for Washington city engrossed the whole of the time that I could spare from ordinary duties. Major Jackson has not for some years *appeared* active in local politics. He wrote much in 1797, in the Philadelphia Gazette of which I had been Editor for several months. After Mr. Adams's election he sat down a while, but on the organization of the *system of terror* he began to write again in the same paper. He became somewhat active on the creation of McPherson's Janissaries, and was *appointed* to stir up the Society of Cincinnati. He was admitted to all the deliberations which Mr. Adams *deigned to hold* with his *inferiors*, and I have heard was much offended at the airs of superiority there assumed by the Great Man of Braintree. In our state election he did not appear openly in 1799, but he was very active in private and attended at Dunwoody's several times. In the 1799–1800 he was very indignant at the failure of Mr. Ross, and was among the most vociferous declaimers against the *hotwater rebellion*. He was one of those who recommended *hanging* on that occasion, and reprobated the pardons extorted by Mr. Dallas's memorial to Mr. Adams. The memorable meetings at Trenton were first made known to him in this city, and from a *friend* of his I had the facts which I published at that time, and which astonished him and others, tho' the major part of the public conceived the information unfounded. I knew them to be true by having another channel of information which was not known to the former, and both agreeing. Time has proved their truth, in the disgrace of Pickering then foretold, and the fall of Hamilton's influence and office. Major Jackson from the spring of 1801, became extremely passive. Upon the approach of the Election of President he was *invited out* and called upon to aid in sustaining a party of which he was told he appeared to despair by his lukewarmness. The party was in fact divided and the majority of the Federalists here and in the legislature being in favor of Mr. Adams, Major Jackson who has [had] declared for Mr. C. C. Pinckney, quitted them, became wholly inactive and left the party to carry on their intrigues under the direction of the Tilghmans, Rawle, Lewis, Ingersoll, Gurney, Hollingsworth, etc. During the agitations occasioned by the uncertainty of the S. Carolina Votes, Major Jackson constantly attended the Coffee House, contrary to his usual custom, and once asserted that a letter had been received from *you* ² intimating that Pinckney would be elected. He did not say that

¹ Jeff. MSS. ² In the margin is written: "No such letter was written by P. B."

he had the letter from you, but that he had heard you wrote such a letter; which occasioned a very strong sensation here for some days; and it occasioned a *gala* at Mr. Bingham's.

When the truth of the Carolina vote came out, there was a total change. All the officers of the Customs assumed an air of moderation. I took notice of some of the acts of some of them, and Major Jackson called on me in the Printing office, when he produced a letter which he wished me to read, and asked me if I knew the handwriting with which I professed to be unacquainted. I knew it to be Mr. Jefferson's, but declined reading it as I did not know why it was produced. He informed me that it was a mistake very generally received that he was inimical to Mr. J. that on the contrary he had always admired his talents and virtues, and he was apprehensive that from what had been published in the *Aurora*, the Editor was under the same impression. I barely replied that I certainly had formed an opinion for myself on the subject. He requested me then to read the letter, which I did; it was a letter of recommendation, of date in either 1784 or 1785, expressed in general terms, stating Major Jackson to have served with credit in the revolution, that he was a man of respectable talents, and an American! I made no observation, and he withdrew reasserting his very profound respect for Mr. Jefferson.

He continued so strongly fixed in this change that when the French treaty came to be discussed, he maintained in a *public speech*, the excellency and advantages of that treaty, at the Coffee House, and declared that it ought to be ratified in all its parts; and he wrote several sheets in defence of it. Some secret movement of which I have never been able to reach the bottom, produced a total change of opinion in him and Mr. Bingham, who at first agreed in the excellence of the treaty with France. Mr. Bingham was suddenly called to Washington, voted for the rejection of the French treaty, and was the *mover* of the motion for rejecting the second article which was finally carried. Major Jackson made the discovery about the same time that he had been mistaken at first and unsaid publicly all that he had before publicly declared.

During the contest on the Presidential question in Congress in February, Major Jackson chose his ground with perspicacity, and undertook to write Mr. Jefferson an assurance that all the Merchants of Philadelphia wished him elected. He called together those who had before divided with him in favor of Pinckney against Adams, and they drew up a paper (Jackson the Scribe) addressed to the Pennsylvania delegation recommending them to support Mr. Jefferson, a copy of which you will believe reached another place beside the professed destination.

From that time to the late election he has acted with the utmost circumspection and silence. But the republicans in the Custom House,

particularly Major Simons, feel the hatred he holds them in. His conduct is not so insolent as heretofore, but it is superciliously insulting; he apprehends that Major Simons will succeed to his situation (which I hope and trust will be the case) and renders the duty to him more severe and rigid than it ever has been. Major Jackson has made no open public efforts on the late election, his only step was giving his vote, and visiting others to excite them out. Latimer's conduct is intolerable, his malice in some late instances to some republican merchants is not to be described. Nothing will appease the people here but a complete sweep of the Custom House.

I shall be at Washington on the 21st and during the whole session. If I can be the means of any service or communicating any information it will afford me pleasure to shew my respect for you in that or any other way. Your obed^t Servant

*To Jefferson.*¹

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7th 1802

SIR, — The appearance of the Indian Chiefs in the House of Representatives this morning, has revived in my mind a subject upon which I have long reflected, and concerning which it was my purpose long since to have taken the liberty of addressing you.

A consciousness of the superiority of the Whites, has at all times prevailed among the Indians and influenced them much more than the generally received notions, that they felt a consciousness of *their* superiority over the whites.

To remove their prejudices would I respectfully presume be the most effectual mode of rendering them happy, securing their attachment to us, and for ever depriving European nations of their instrumentality.

This I conceive might be effected by provisions for allowing each of the Indian Nations, a Representation in the Congress of the United States, under such limitations and conditions as would give them a due sense of their consequence in the American nation, and the common blessings and advantages which would accrue to them, by their incorporation with a nation so important, and under circumstances perfectly analogous to their own ideas of delegation.

I will not enter into a detail of the form of producing this momentous change. I flatter myself that the difficulties would be trivial, and the expence inconsiderable, compared with the advantages which it would produce to the Indians and to the Union.

I can only just add, that this subject being mentioned a considerable time since to a Canadian Englishman, he deprecated the idea, and solicited earnestly that it might not be mentioned as it would destroy

¹ Jeff. MSS.

the British influence for ever, and throw the Fur trade wholly into the States. I am, Sir, &c.

*To Jefferson.*¹

W. Duane's respects. No copies of the Country Aurora have ever been reserved, and only ten of the daily paper; if the Daily Aurora will be acceptable, it will be [have?] to be ordered from Philadelphia, as none of 1801 are yet bound. No map of Maryland is to be had here. I have ordered two different copies from Philadelphia, which if they should not be acceptable, or either of them, can be kept here for sale, they being in demand.

23d. April, 1802.

To Abraham Bishop.

FRANKFORD, Aug. 28th, 1802

DR. SIR, — I think Mr. Atwater might enter into the Bookselling with advantage — and that he might find persons readily disposed to enter into engagements with him here, and at New York & Boston. — the circumstances of the place appear as you describe them peculiarly favorable. Attendance at the next fair would be the most likely mode to accomplish his views at once — any assistance in my power, in the way of *trade* or *advice* is at his command.

Your book I received and thank you for it heartily. The fever at Philadelphia will prevent the sale — however, we shall see in October. At present the fever rages with extreme violence — the accounts of our Board of Health are not to be relied on — they are timid, and interested to conceal calamity, as they conceive. One of my news carriers who remained against my consent was taken ill last night — there are not *ten thousand* people in Phila. out of 60,000 and yet the contagion diffuses itself.

I have had advice of your books being shipt for me but have not yet received them owing to the state of the City. It will be impossible to say what may be the prospect of sale for a second Edit. here till we have tried those that are on the way hither — if it were to sell equal with its value, I could speak on the subject.

Your correspondence with D[enniston] & Cheetham I lamented to see. I endeavoured to prevent its going on — and I regretted that my name had been introduced in the business, either on that point or any other. It was impossible for me with all my efforts to keep out of it — and in the *general business* I see I must take a very decided part soon. I did not authorize my name to be used as one who saw you at Lancaster, nor was I advised of it or asked until I saw it in print. The

¹ Jeff. MSS.

use must have been made upon the ground of letters written by me while we were at Lancaster, tho' I never reported any such conversation of yours. By the bye, I think a man who had never seen or known Mr. Jefferson, and had only heard of him thro' the calumnies of his adversaries, might very innocently have expressed such apprehensions as generally prevailed, that he wanted firmness and vigor &c. Many worthy men and warm admirers of Mr. Jefferson have suggested such doubts to me and expressed a fear that the mildness of his character would be injurious to him. But I know many of these, who now know that he is by far the most decided and uniform character of the whole administration. Whether you ever uttered such sentiments in my hearing or not I really cannot say. I do not recollect having ever said so — for indeed I pay very little attention to the conversations of men whom I do not Respect, and I always since I knew you entertained the best opinion of your head & heart.

I regret nevertheless that you noticed the *note* in the pamphlet because it is generally conceived that tho' you shew the most capacity you have the worst of the argument — and it is here with many believed, that you are actually entered into an understanding with what is called the *little band*, this was not believed before your correspondence — and it requires something on your part to remove the impression. I can conceive your impressions in the controversy — but *nine* out of *ten* cannot. It appears to me of little consequence whether you did or did not of a morning or an evening express an opinion — at the period in question — Every man at that time looked round and thought for himself upon what appeared to him the most likely to serve the general interests of the republic. And no man can be condemned if he was so unfortunate as to be misinformed. The question indeed must come to a different issue now. — for it is gone too far to be within the power of the *healing art*. The question will be “*Has Mr. Jefferson fulfilled or disappointed the public expectations — or has he done what upon the whole is most for the honor and interest of the Republic.*” The decision on this question may be made without taking what are the merits of Mr. Burr into view at all. But it will not be done so. Another question will then arise. *Shall Mr. Burr be preferred to Mr. Jefferson?* This will involve the discussion which has been already protruded on the public — and the occurrence of which I have lamented and still lament.

I have not nevertheless, been without my *opinion* — nor have I been without *solid reasons* for the formation of one — which this is not the time to state — but I will state my opinions leaving the reasons to that period when it may be necessary to make them public (I hope it never may). But my opinion is that *Mr. Jefferson has fulfilled the trust reposed in him to the public advantage and his own honor.*

I think Mr. Burr ought not to be preferred — nor put in competition with Mr. Jefferson. I could give you such *solid reasons* as might perhaps surprise you — *reasons personally known to me and communicated to a few only that I may be exonerated from improper motives* in my withholding them from the public now. My wish was to prevent any schism — or at least the appearance of it — I could not prevent it, but this was owing greatly to the incurable indiscretion of a young man named *Davis* in N. York — who being refused a lucrative office in N. Y. has been the cause of the explosion. Davis has just addressed an impertinent letter to me, which I shall answer in a way that will surprize him, and if he has only the indiscretion to publish it, I must at once enter the field against Mr. Burr. I am under no obligation to one or the other — I never asked one or the other a favor. Mr. J. never tendered one, Mr. B. did — and I refused. So at least I stand independent of favor. In fact I am under no obligation to any man in America in any way that ought to control my opinion or bias my judgment. If I depended upon anything but my own activity and principles, I should have been left in the *Slough of party* long ago, trodden upon, and like my predecessor forgotten. My independence is my pride — and you saw enough of my domestic concerns to perceive that I am not the most miserable man in the world. In this state all confidence in Mr. B. is gone. Governor McKean is the man talked of as the future republican candidate for V. P. no other has been talked of, notwithstanding what has been said in the papers. Persons here who wish Mr. B. will have suffered in their popularity by defending Mr. B. and an argument used for encouraging an evening newspaper in Philadelphia in opposition to mine, was that I was not decided against Mr. B. This did not shake my sentiments, as I am too well accustomed to things of this kind to mistake their effect or intention. Anything you chuse to write me on this subject shall *be sacred*. What I write you, you will perceive is an evidence of my respect & confidence in you.

Yours sincerely,

*To Jefferson.*¹

FRANKFORD, Oct: 18, 1802.

SIR, — The bustle attendant on our election affairs here will I hope excuse the delay of three days since the receipt of your letter. Upon the receipt of the Instructions concerning the Books from London and Paris, I immediately addressed the originals to Messrs. Johnson in London and Pougens in Paris, with Duplicates of each in my handwriting to Mr. Erving and Short, directing the Booksellers to call on those Gentlemen. I fear the removal of Mr. Short may retard the business

¹ Jeff. MSS.

at Paris; the business in London is in a fair train, as I have had a letter from my correspondent there, within the present month. I shall take the first occasion that presents itself to address Mr. Pougens again; tho' I have no doubt that from your note, independent of the confidence which he has already manifested in me that the order will be duly executed, even if he should not have thought it advisable to apply to Mr. Livingston.

Our elections in Pennsylvania generally are as they ought to be. Some unhappy misunderstandings have secretly existed which alarmed many and portended some injurious consequences. The evil has, however, been in this county and the City completely checked; tho at the expence of a good man's feelings. I mean Dr. Logan. No man esteems him more than I do, but he was the true instigator of the late divisions in the county, and I am afraid it may yet come to an unpleasant issue. I have kept his name out of View, but I had written evidence of his being the cause of the dissention; the consequences if not thwarted might have been fatal through the State.

The jealousy among the principal republicans here requires a most vigilant attention. Unfortunately while I am endeavoring to check it, I am exciting the ill will of men whom I love, merely because I do not suffer myself to be led aside from a great public interest to the views of one or another individual.

The following is an outline of our leading men's dispositions towards each other — and these five may be said to hold the principal weight.

1. Mr. Dallas. Offended with 2, unreservedly opposed to 4, cold to 3 and 5.

2. Dr. Logan. Violently hostile to 1; Do. 3 and 5; good understanding with 4.

3. Dr. Leib. Hostile to 2; familiar with 1 and 4; common cause with 5.

4. Mr. Cox[e]. Estranged but willing to be friends with 1; friends with 2; familiar and friendly with 3 and 5.

5. Mr. Muhlenberg. Friendly with all, but displeased with 2, and rather distant than familiar with 4.

I am sorry to say that no actual cause of *jealousy* exists with foundation between them, but what is *wholly political*. Each of them in one way or another considers his neighbor a rival! and the loss of any one of them would be to us a very serious evil. The Judiciary business had very nearly destroyed Mr. Dallas, the late Address has I think removed a great portion of the odium of that measure. Dr. Logan looks to the governmental chair at the next election; but I fear his attacks upon Mr. *Dallas* and Dr. *Leib*, will shut him out from every hope of that kind. Indeed Nos. 1, 3 and 4 are the fully efficient men with us. Dr. Logan without the aid of the rest could do nothing;

Mr. Muhlenberg by his strength of character and influence among the Germans possesses a great weight, and this Leib shares with him ; but Mr. Dallas and Mr. Coxe, who are the most capable men as writers, possess severally a great influence in the city and country. It were much to be wished they could be reconciled, for obvious reasons. The next two years will require all our strength of talents and activity, and Mr. Burr I make no doubt is laboring to assail every man's passions who he may conceive of weight, or likely to go into the erection of a third party.

From the rising young men we have not much to expect ; Mr. Dickerson is the only one who is decidedly republican that displays talents. In the late County discussions he has been silent, knowing the interest which his friend Dr. Logan took in the affair. Young Mr. Sergeant, the Commissioner of Bankrupts, associates wholly with the opposition party and barely says he is a republican ; he possesses talents, but they are of no public use but in his law pursuits ; young Richard Bache (Benjamin's younger brother) possesses talents, but he is yet a student with Mr. Dallas ; there are about four other young men lawyers who do not display any capacity for public affairs. The Value of such men as Mr. Dallas and Mr. Coxe, and Mr. Dickerson is not to be lightly estimated, considering that all the lawyers at the bar here are men of much weight as members of society and property, and as they threaten to bring out unprecedented efforts against the next presidential election.

Sitgreaves will not succeed in Montgomery. Conrad a stupid intriguing mercenary of no sound political principle will be the member, to the exclusion of a man of worth and talents, Mr. Boileau. However, Conrad cannot do harm.

I had written some time since a very long letter soliciting some hints to enable me to repel the monstrous calumnies of a wretch that deserves not to be named.¹ I was fearful of sending it directly, and delayed it until I gladly perceived the public resentment was roused against the Calumniator. Should there be any facts which may be used to throw the villainous aspersions into a still more odious light, I should wish to have them. I however propose about the close of this month to go to Washington City to look after my business there, as I find my clerk has been ill and the office wholly unemployed.

The adverse party here now say they mean to give up further contest, and to look on until they find us so effectually divided as to be enabled to step in and decide by joining the party which will enter into their views. This was expressed by *Jacob Shoemaker*, an influential Quaker in Philadelphia, who acted as one of the Inspectors of the Election. I am, etc.

¹ James Thomson Callender, who was now writing against Jefferson.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, [WASHINGTON] Friday evening.
27 November, 1802

SIR, — My absence from home until this moment prevented my sending an answer to your note before.

Young Cooper's name is Thomas Cooper — he appears to be about 22 years old.

Lacretelle's book I have not here but have written for it by mail to Philadelphia, and requested it to be sent by some private hand.

Paine's third letter gives me considerable uneasiness, he has in fact commenced the subject of the Age of Reason in it. I have tried every effort of which I am capable to persuade him against it, but nothing will operate on him. I have fairly told him that he will be deserted by the only party that respects or does not hate him, that all his political writings will be rendered useless, and even his fame destroyed; but he silenced me at once by telling me that Dr. Rush at the period when he commenced Common Sense told him, that there were two words which he should avoid by every means as necessary to his own safety and that of the public, — *Independence* and *Republicanism*.

With respect, yours faithfully

To Madison.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 3^d, 1803

SIR, — In consequence of a conversation with a member of Congress who lately left Washington, I am induced to take the liberty of addressing you, to request, (if you judge it proper) a copy of Lord Hawkesbury's answer to Mr. King's note concerning Louisiana. I feel very often the extreme want of some *leading information*, upon which I could rely in rebutting the incessant attacks of the papers adverse to the Government; I believe this inconvenience to be very generally felt among the republican prints. If any mode could be adopted by which some of the papers, to which the public look for correct information and vigorous discussion, could be made acquainted occasionally with such facts as may not be improper to be known, the effect on the public mind I am persuaded would be beneficial, and the mortification and uncertainty in which Editors who are attached to the principles of the Government and its administration would be rendered less painful. I know that so far as it concerns myself, I feel my situation much more irksome and discouraging as an Editor than when my life was in hourly danger and my only source of information was from the blunders or the audacity of those who were in power.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

I hope, Sir, you will excuse this liberty on account of the motive.

I am, with great respect Sir,

Your obedt Ser^t.

W^m DUANE, *Editor of Aurora.*

Circular Letter to U. S. Senators.

WASHINGTON CITY, October 14th, 1803.

SIR, — I take the liberty of soliciting your countenance and good offices, in favor of my application for the printing of the Journals of the honorable Senate. Three years since, upon the invitation and persuasion of distinguished republicans, I established here a printing office adequate to the execution of any quantity or any kind of printing, and have executed a part of the work for Congress, to general satisfaction. Circumstances did not admit of the fulfilment of the purposes of my friends, with regard to the printing for the Senate, and the Journals have been hitherto printed by a person of adverse politics, with whom however, I did not think it delicate to be a competitor before this period.

The distribution of this business is in the hands of the Secretary of the Senate, under some control from the Vice President.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant.

To Madison.

W^m Duane's respects to M^r Maddison — Sends a paper in which there is an article, that it may be proper he should see — the same information is stated in other papers of N York of not so hostile a character as the N York Gazette.

W^m D. would have waited on M^r Maddison before now, but was desirous not to intrude while there was likely to be any interruption of other company and on the Subject of Spanish affairs he refrained rather from saying any thing than endanger any erroneous or premature discussion.

Aug. 10, 1805.

To Madison.

Aug. 27, 1805

With W^m Duane's respects to M^r Maddison

Francis Prueil, a French merchant connected with the Spanish Ambassador in many transactions, has recently applied to a tinman in this city to make a lantern such as is used in the Service of Artillery by night; one was made, and it is understood that a large number more

are to be made. The Tinman suspecting that they might be intended for some purpose hostile to the U. S. has hesitated whether he ought to execute them — and would not if there were to be any reason to confirm his suspicions; he advised with me, and I have told him he ought to go on, so that their direction may be the more easily detected or traced. As it is impossible for me to determine what opinion ought to be informed on this subject, I thought it best to apprise you of it, and should any steps be necessary to be made on the subject, I am sure the man would aid. I have not however intimated to any one that I have taken this step — as after all it may be of no moment.

Madison to Duane.

J. M. pres^{ts} his respects to M^r D. & in answer to his note of yesterday evening, observes that he is not acquainted with any circumstances denoting that the Artillery Lanterns on which the Tinman is employed, may have a hostile reference to the U. States, or justifying an interposition in any form agst the prosecution of the Job. Should the suspicions entertained by the Tinman have any real foundation the course which occurred to M^r D. seems favorable to the requisite discoveries.

PHILAD^A. Aug. 28.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, March 12, 1806

RESPECTED SIR, — For a considerable time reports very injurious to the public interest have been in circulation, in this city and in different parts of the State. The sentiments of the people have on no occasion been so strongly mark[ed] by sullen discontent, and public confidence has been very much shaken, by the reports in question. The peculiar situation in which I am placed is far from being grateful or desirable; the correspondence which I had been accustomed to maintain at the seat of government being interrupted by my pecuniary affairs and the necessity of attending on courts of law here; and none of the members of this district nor of the State, have condescended to communicate by a single line during the present session. Destitute of any other chart or land marks than those of common sense and my reliance on the purity of your views, I have continued unmoved by rumour or by even more authoritative inducements in my confidence and love of you.

I should not have addressed you on this occasion, did not the reports in circulation appear to me as working effects the most pernicious to the public interest and to your reputation particularly. Painful as it is, it is fit nevertheless that you should not be ignorant of what is of

¹ Jeff. MSS.

so much concern, and men in elevated situations are more frequently deceived and flattered than correctly and candidly informed. As self-interest has no share in this step, I persuade myself it will not be offensive; the reports already operate very unpleasantly on those who have been active in the political transactions of the last ten years particularly.

It is said here — that you have thrown yourself into the arms of a New England party, and given them your exclusive confidence; that the sturdy and independent republicans of the South are treated by you with coldness, and reserve.

It is said in corroboration — that Mr. J. Randolph has openly attacked your administration, and censured the measures proposed by the administration to Congress.

In other quarters it is alleged — that there is only one member of your Cabinet (Mr. Madison) who is not opposed to you — that the Secretary of the Navy in concert with his brother traverses all your measures concerning naval and commercial affairs. That the Secy. of the Treasury conducts his department in such a way as to evince a disapprobation of your policy; and the first report of his on the finances and the proposition for paying off the debt, while your message indicated vigorous measures of defence, is represented as a satire on your message: that the Secretary at War, secretly governed by the Postmaster General, acts equally adverse, tho' under different views and professions: that all these differing in particular views from each other, yet cooperate upon some general principles which obstruct your best measures, and that between all these inferior combinations the executive measures are frustrated and public confidence palsied.

Another report says that you have broken with the Secy. of the Treasury, and that he is not consulted by you and that he proposes to resign.

Another report has been stated from a very influential source — that the business of the Executive is conducted like the Cabinet of St. James — a concealed influence and an ostensible Cabinet — that there is a public profession and a concealed counteraction of that profession.

From another quarter, and I saw it in writing, addressed to a gentleman in this city, and it is gone abroad, it is alleged in strong and positive terms, that you have unreservedly denounced the republicans who are deemed the most ardent, by the injurious epithet of Jacobins; that you have made a declaration similar to that of Govr. McKean that you would in future appoint to office none but the *moderate men* of both parties; that in a word you had avowed an unqualified preference and predilection of those who are called third party men or Quids.

It is now in active circulation here and has been for some days, that the expedition of Miranda, was previously known to and countenanced by you and by Mr. Madison; this was circulated upon authority which

was represented as official, and declared to have been so avowed by an officer of the government. This story excited such a ferment at the Coffeehouse, that I considered as a duty to trace it to its source. I traced it to Mr. Joseph Priestly of Northumberland, who narrated it to Mr. Ab. Small bookseller, as coming from Mr. Dallas, who Mr. Priestly said believed it, and who he declared had said that republicanism was at an end, and that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison would be both impeached. Mr. Small and myself discredited the story, but Mr. Edwd Fox related it also as coming from Mr. Dallas. The story was told in a manner to excite attention and to shape incredulity. It was alleged, that Miranda had brought a letter from an English under Secy of State to Mr. Rufus King, and that Miranda was to engage ships in the U. S. who were to cooperate with Sir Howe Popham against South America; that Mr. King communicated the whole to the Secy. of State — that Miranda was received and countenanced thereupon — that the prosecution at New York was only a cover, and that when Mr. Sandford was examining Mr. R. King, that Mr. Sandford put the word *unauthorized* by Government — instead of *authorized* in Mr. King's evidence, and that Mr. K. detected it, and that Sandford burnt the evidence in consequence. The effect of such a report may be easily conceived, but the concern which it excited among those who love you and had not strength of mind to resist it is not to be described.

I have taken upon me in every instance, (relying for my belief upon my opinion of your wisdom and goodness of heart,) to contradict all these rumours and to dissipate them in every manner as far as I was able. Circumstanced as I am, my situation as a politician and a citizen has been extremely irksome, and it occurred to me that the only service I could do you would be to make you acquainted with rumours which produced consequences nearly as pernicious as if they had any foundation. The interest of America, the stability of Republican Government, and the glory of your own life, appear to me to depend upon the dissipation of doubts and the course which you will pursue in your administration henceforward. The uncertainty which has prevailed during the Session of Congress, has the common tendency in such occasions, to be transferred from the divisible mass to the individual head of the government, and the enemies of liberty and false friends find an interest in propelling human passion in that path.

I have now done what I conceive to be a duty, arising from the veneration and love I feel for you, and under convictions that no sentiment [or] motive [of] an interested nature either actuate or can be charged upon me on this or on any other political occasion; and with an assurance that if it were a case of peril or hazard, that I should come forward on your behalf with more alacrity than I do in the present instance. It is not my object to communicate this, nor have I consulted any human being on the

subject — and I neither claim any credit nor apprehend any censure from you for the act ; because if I have mistaken the line of propriety, I am assured of an excuse in your liberality ; and the intention will be considered in place of the act.

I require no answer, because the satisfaction of knowing that you are not offended I shall obtain on my going to the seat of Government after the courts here close ; and if I have offended I shall know it too soon at any time. If haply I have done right, and that any communication from an observing and faithful friend should be agreeable in future I would not hesitate ; for I very much fear that there has been too much treachery and deception practiced towards you by persons in this quarter. If such communication should not be acceptable, the circumstance can make no alteration in my principles, for I shall be under all circumstances your affectionate and faithful friend.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 2d, 1806.

RESPECTED SIR, — Sometime since during your sojournment at Monticello, I forwarded you the loose sheets of a pamphlet in the Spanish language, which I had printed secretly. The accompanying affidavit will explain how I came to print it, under what impressions, and for whom. As I am not competent to translate Spanish, and the conduct of the Spanish ambassador here had been so disreputable to his mission, I conceived it to be my duty to forward you that pamphlet, in order that if it should contain any matter that might serve the government of my country it should be possessed thereof. Indeed the accompanying affidavit expresses my sentiments and rule of action so explicitly that with the knowledge you already possess of me, my motives and conduct will require no explanation ; further than to account for the affidavit of which I send a copy.

It appears from the representation of Mr. Magdalena to me, that Yrujo has sent charges to Spain against him — Magdalena, and among other things he has alleged that I had published in my paper certain facts which being known to no other person in this country but himself (Yrujo) and Magdalena, those facts must have been communicated to me by the latter. Upon this charge Yrujo has undertaken to suspend the functions of Magdalena, who applied to me to declare the truth whether or not I have ever had any information from him. The affidavit is accordingly drawn up and Magdalena, desirous to give weight as much as possible to the evidence which he brings to exculpate himself from Yrujo's accusation, has prescribed the mode of introduction which you will see in the affidavit, as to my commission in the militia

¹ Jeff. MSS.

and my religious education ; as I do not set any value on the titles and as my education has not closed up my understanding, I could not refuse to render him a service by an acquiescence in the use of facts that are true. This explanation of the introductory form I deem due to myself, lest it should be presumed, that I was so lost to good sense as to be *vain* or *superstitious*.

I am at a loss to discover what the facts are which Yrujo complained of as divulged to me. Accustomed to speculate in political affairs below the mere surface, it appears that I must have penetrated the Spanish *mysteries of State*. Your eminent situation may perhaps enable you to judge what the *secret* really is ; for tho' it seems I discovered it, it remains a secret to me to this moment ; for I have attempted to anticipate so many things that unless it is the suggestion of a secret understanding between Spain & Great Britain, I cannot recollect any fact of sufficient moment to excite so much anger and apprehension.

I have endeavored in the affidavit to say as much in corroboration of the general sentiment of the country against Yrujo as my knowledge and truth justifies.

Magdalena means to send my original affidavit and that of my son to Spain ; he says Yrujo has sent orders to all the agents of Spain in the United States not to forward any despatches for him to Spain ; he told me he placed so much confidence in your private virtues and generosity that he would request to have it transmitted to some of the American Consuls in Spain.

I printed six copies of the Spanish pamphlet with the purpose that if it should prove useful to the government to place a copy in the hands of our ambassadors or Consuls in Spain or France that they might be had — if they can be of any such use, they shall be forwarded.

On political transactions of a domestic nature I do not mean to trespass on you. My opinions and sentiments on particular men and circumstances I know cannot be agreeable to you, tho' from my soul I believe that in so doing I am acting more faithful to my attachment to you, than if I forbore from *scotching the snakes* that trouble your path. I have no favor to ask, nor motive for uttering my sentiments of any public men, but public motives ; and if I should be mistaken, in any particular, the mistake will be my own, for I am neither to be led nor driven from the path of principle.

There is a pamphlet in the press of S. F. Bradford in this city. It is an attack on your administration ; the proofs are sent to *Jersey* for revisal, and I suspect go *farther on*. It is proper to be apprised of this, because it seems to be intended to make an impression on the opening of Congress. If furnished with suitable material I would at once reply to it, and shall endeavor to procure one of the first copies to send you.

Excuse Respected Sir, this among the many trespasses I have made on you — the motive if estimated as I feel will fully gratify me. With respect

Permit me to ask the return of the affidavits &c., as I have no other copy and it may be proper to be possessed of a copy lest Yrujo on his return to Spain should misrepresent and send the misrepresentation here. I do not require any other answer, as your time must be amply engaged.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 4th, 1806

SIR, — The rumors in circulation here, concerning disturbances in Kentucky have excited a very strong sensation. It will be of some importance by some means to settle the public feeling on the subject. The whole country will be with you if there is any actual exigency. If there is not the administration may derive great advantage from a seasonable counteraction of the alarm.

Judging it not impossible that there may be some disturbance, should my services in any situation for which my habits and cast of mind may fit me, be required, I make a respectful tender of them to you. I seek no office of emolument, all I wish is to be placed in such a situation as that I may be able to render public effective service. I am, &c.

*To Jefferson.*²

PHILADELPHIA, November 16, 1806.

RESPECTED SIR, — The enclosed is a literal copy of a communication made to me. The author I do not know, but the subject appears to me of too much importance not to be put in your possession, as I conceive my duty to my country cannot justify me in withholding from the Magistrate whose duty and evident wishes are to preserve its honor, peace and prosperity. I do not wish for any answer. I only send it as I have expressed it, from a sense of duty — and shall do so should any further communication be made as is promised.

With the utmost respect, &c.

——— *to Duane.*³

(Literal Copy.)

MICHIGAN TERRITORY, 16 Oct! 1806.

MR. DUANE, — The following broken hints are communicated, not to be published by any means, nor even shewn to any person, but merely to possess you of *facts* transpiring in a certain part of the

¹ Jeff. MSS.

² Jeff. MSS.

³ This paper is in Duane's writing.

western world, that you may compare them with other things which may come in your way; and should you allude to them, or any part of them, it must be done intirely in *your own way and language*. More will be furnished as things proceed. The writer would have no objection to giving you his *name*, if the risk of transportation were not so great.

In June, 1805, *Gov. Hull* came first to Michigan territory. Wm. Kettletas of N York was in company, who met him at Fort Erie, a British post opposite Buffalo creek. K. proceeded to Michilimackinac, and from thence to St. Louis, and became an inmate of Genl Wilkinson's family, by whom, it is said, he was appointed Att^y Genl of Louisiana, and is expected to return to that territory the present season.

Judge *Woodward* (at present senior judge of Michigan) came up thro' the State of Ohio. This man is a perfect *Quid* in politics, laughs at *patriots* and *patriotism*; wishes never to see another *political newspaper*, was converted soon after his arrival, to the *Roman Catholic* or Canadian religion, and withal appears ambitious beyond measure; and if a judgment may be formed from several things which have been transacted by him, is ready to stick at nothing to accomplish his views. Governor H. has been unfortunate in the *Yazoo* business, and generally supposed to be ruined, unless some new enterprise can save him.

Matthew Ernest met the governor on the British Shore, upon his arrival, took him to his house, and became a most intimate, almost indispensable companion. This *Ernest* is brother-in-law of Genl Wilkins of Pittsburg, and came to Detroit as commissary, and was a close friend of Genl Wilkinson. Tho' he first failed in the Commissary line, yet under Wilkinson his house became wonderfully replenished with *plate* and rich furniture, and he lived in the highest stile. He was appointed also collector of the Customs at Detroit, from which he was removed in 1805, for some malconduct in respect to the revenue. [Mr. Duncan was collector of Michilimackinac, not Detroit.] *Ernest* mysteriously departed for Kentucky about ten weeks after the Governor's arrival, leaving his family at Detroit, and carried with him about \$8,000 of the public money remaining in his hands as collector; for which suits are now going on against his estate and sureties. Previous to his departure he was made by the Governor *treasurer* of the territory, and *Colonel* in the Militia. Other principal military offices have been given to known monarchists, and friends of Britain, to the no small chagrin of some republicans of merit. From the period that Col. *Ernest* left the territory, till the present, not a syllable has been publicly known here concerning him, which is now more than a year. Not a letter has arrived by mail, superscribed in his handwriting, tho' several in that of others addressed to him and family. He went from

Kentucky to N. York, about the time *Miranda* fitted out there, and is generally thought to have been embarked with him. It is by some imagined that Mr. Duncan has done the same, who carried away 30,000 \$ or more of the public money.

Colonel Smith, of N. York (the same concerned in fitting out *Miranda*) pretends to possess a claim to an immense tract of land in Michigan territory. Gov^r H. was applied to by the said Smith to become a sharer in the same; but it is not known whether he did or not.

A law was passed by the Gov^r and judge W. to enable *Aliens* to acquire, hold and transfer real estate in the territory of Michigan, as freely and on the same principles as a citizen of the U. States. Judge Bates (the only associate judge present at the time) entered a protest against this law.

It has been and is freely advanced by some men in Michigan, (of no small consequence, and among them some of the *garrison*) that the American territory is too large for a single government, that the interest of the widely extended parts cannot be properly regulated by *one body of men, &c.*

The *closest intimacy* has been cultivated on the part of the Governor and the officers of the American garrison, with the *British* officers and leading men on the Canadian shore: splendid feasts, balls and visitations have been very frequently exchanged. Aid has been lent from the *American* garrison to assist *British* officers in hunting their deserters on the American territory, and committing violence and outrage on the citizens. And when those officers have been arraigned as offenders before our highest court, they have been permitted to wear their swords in the court, and have lived in the utmost splendor in our garrison, and at the Governor's table, while prisoners for the most outrageous breaches of the peace. A preference is given by the Gov^r to the counsels of the *British commander* respecting the Indians in our neighbourhood and territory, their instructions, designs, &c., above the counsels of the most experienced American citizens.

An unaccountable *assurance* amounting to the *total exclusion of doubt* is possessed by the Governor and Judge W[oodward] that the Indians will *never again molest* the frontier settlements, not even in case of a war between America and England. They have answered to those who have disbelieved this, that *such inhuman policy will be henceforth discarded by Great Britain!* The Governor's proceedings in respect to the *Militia* of the territory, and in stile with these assurances; for he is training and uniforming them apparently more for fighting *regular enemies* than Indians, *more for the field than the bush*. The proper defensive works against Indians he appears to think very lightly of, and holds them unnecessary.

In Oct. 1805 the Gov^t and judge W[oodward] departed together for the States. Both at that time said it was uncertain whether they should return to Michigan any more. They went via N. York to Washington and were there at the session of Congress. I believe immediately after the question on the Yazoo claims was decided, the former left Washington for Boston. The latter still remained at Washington where he continued some time after Congress rose. At Boston a number of men (supposed to be *Yazoo* claimants) suddenly formed themselves into a *banking company* for the purpose of establishing a bank at Detroit. They filled up most of the shares, leaving a few only to be taken in Michigan territory. In June last the Gov^t came from Boston to Detroit, bringing with him some *brass field pieces*, and a quantity of arms, cutlasses, pistols, &c., with orders to draw muskets from the public arsenal, all for the use of the militia. He also brought materials for building, and soon set about erecting a house, or rather palace, which is now progressing and will cost from 10 to 15,000 \$. A profound silence reigns relative to the defeat of the *Yazoo* claims. Those claims at his departure last fall were a topic of conversation. In July, the *Cashier* of the proposed Bank came on from Boston, with his family, bringing part of the specie, with irons, &c., ready made to proceed upon the building of a banking house. He soon proceeded to erect an expensive building before any law had passed to establish the bank, or even a legislative board were present, for Judge W[oodward] had not yet arrived, and Judge Griffin had never been in the territory. All went on in the strongest manner without any question either of permission or of success. In August two or three other principal owners of shares came on from Boston (among them one *Nathaniel Parker*) bringing still more specie. In company with these *Judge Woodward* arrived, having been absent almost eleven months. Several active young gentlemen also came, and are still coming, from that quarter, who are patronized by the Governor and fill every place of any profit in his gift. Some are yet without business.

The first act of the legislative board, after Judge W[oodward] arrived, was to establish the bank by law. Not a little to the surprise of the citizens, the law admits a capital in specie of ONE MILLION of dollars, with liberty to *extend branches* wherever the directors please! Such an immense deposit of cash in this western world appear to most people a paradox, which none can satisfactorily explain. The trade of this country is a *barter of peltries for goods*, and little cash is used. Some are bold enough to conjecture, that an object is in view threatening to the *Union of the States*, especially as it is reported that *other great deposits of cash* are making in various parts of the Western World.

The citizens of Detroit are now in considerable commotion, caused by a very singular attempt as they think, to oust them from their

dwelling which they built on the public domain (by permission of the board) after the destruction of the town by fire last summer. You will probably see a more particular account of this business which it is thought will be made public. It is conceived by some, that their houses are or will be wanted by *Yazoo* men, of whom it is said large numbers will come in next year, under the characters of *farmers*. Those from Boston, now here, say donations of land must be given them, to encourage them to come. The Governor and Judge W[oodward] obtained 10,000 acres by an act of Congress last winter, which is to be at the disposal of the legislative board. It is to be adjacent to Detroit. Most of the farms in this territory are now under mortgage, and the mortgages will be lodged in the Bank for cash, by those who hold them. It is expected many of the old inhabitants will be obliged to quit leaving their homes and farms in the hands of the bankers.

Gov^r Hull says that a Mr. Jackson a member of Congress from Virginia, a man of great talents and public virtue, is about removing into Michigan territory ; and that several other equally distinguished characters are also expected to bend their course in the same direction.

A Bill to amend an act entitled "an act to divide the Indiana territory into two separate governments, and for other purposes," was introduced into Congress last winter, by a committee of which the above Mr. Jackson was chairman : it was framed by Judge W[oodward] and proposes a material change in the government of Michigan conferring *despotic* power in certain instances, and calculated to repress and root out the present Secretary of the territory Mr. Griswold, whose strict *republican principles* and zeal for the preservation of the *union of the States*, is not fitted for their views, while he is in a situation to know the proceedings carried on, in public and private ; there are a few others equally obnoxious, but we are not so much exposed to the angry feelings of the speculating body as he is, and are beside totally independent of their power unless it be abused. The above bill passed the House of Representatives, but was laid over in Senate till next Session. This Bill with some remarks thereon, will probably be sent you before the next meeting of Congress.

A law passed Congress last session, which excites some observation, by which the public *land offices* are forbidden to receive any more evidence of the *public debt* for lands hereafter to be sold, and are required to receive *cash* only. Where there is much fraud going on and very alarming rumours abroad, men are apt to be suspicious ; and there is more safety in a jealous vigilance than a too confident security. It is not therefore surprizing that many should conceive that the design of this measure (unknown and carefully concealed from Congress) is to assist the deposit of *cash* in the western world, against a *great occasion*.

A correspondence is going on between Judge W[oodward] (since his return) and some other unknown person or persons, at a distance, written in *disguised letters*, or *using one letter for another*, and on paper curiously *stamp'd* and *stained* upon the edges — but further discoveries on this subject are expected to be made.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHIL. Dec. 8, 1806

RESPECTED SIR, — Had I not made the brief communication a few days since concerning Commodore Truxton's interview, I should not have deemed an anonymous article received through the Post office worthy of noting by letter, especially as it may be either well founded or malicious in its intention. I shall inclose the original note, and shall beg it to be returned as I may possibly trace the handwriting.

Some circumstances that have come within my knowledge may tend perhaps to throw some light on other points. When Mr. Burr was in this city last year he lodged at Mr. Gardette's a Frenchman a dentist a very worthy man and I believe sincerely devoted to the happiness and interests of the United States. This person's son is a young man of talents, his education has a French cast, and he is an able draughtsman and musician; this young man Mr. Burr took with him. The young man is now at home; but in the event of any evidence being required no doubt his would be important so far as he *saw* and *drafted*, for I do not suspect that he was ever apprised of Mr. Burr's designs. A brother of the elder Mr. Gardette arrived here about two years since from France; he had been a *captain* in the French army, and had seen considerable service. He was bred a *chintz pattern* carver or engraver, and had made very considerable progress in arrangements for his business *here*; suddenly a few months ago, perhaps about May or June, he discontinued that pursuit, and the first I heard of him was at Pittsburg, and his descending the Ohio. The connection of the circumstances may possibly be *accidental*, but under the circumstances of the transactions in the West, little incidents of this nature may lead to more important developments. I do not know the name of this captain, or whether he uses the family name.

Another incident has come within my knowledge. Two or three months ago, Mr. John Craig merchant in this city, applied to Messrs Binney and Ronaldson for types to a considerable amount, destined for Mexico, and *calculated and cast* for the Spanish language to the value of 2,000 \$. They understood that the person who ordered them was Mr. *Fernandez* (Note I have since seen the original Spanish order. The name is not the same exactly, it is Fernando. The merchant here is John Craig, at Baltimore a merchant of the name of Oliver). The

¹ Jeff. MSS.

name I recollect to be the same as that of a gentleman of considerable intelligence and impressive manners who was in several parts of the U. S. not long ago. But it may not be the same person. The circumstance which struck me as deserving of notice in the case was, that the types being sent to Mr. Craig's on Monday (the day your proclamation arrived here,) Craig denied that he ordered them, and said the order came from Baltimore; the letter containing the order is in the hands of Binney & Ronaldson, and it is addressed on the cover to John Craig, Esq. They conclude that the types were intended for the conspirators.

Commodore Truxton called today again but being somewhat unwell I did not see him. But I think it fit to notice some of the conversation which he held on the former day. He appears to entertain a deadly hatred of Gen. Smith & Mr. R. Smith, and meditates a voluminous critical discussion on the "*mismanagement*" of the naval department. As I was not at all reserved in my profession of respect or dislike of men, he entered very largely into his "*wrongs*," and attributed them wholly to the enmity of the above gentlemen, and to a mercantile dispute of a very remote date. He said that Mr. R. Smith had endeavored to impress Mr. Burr with an opinion that the "*treatment*" of Com. Truxton was wholly the act of the President, and that he Smith lamented and deplored it. But Truxton stated that now he was rather disposed to think that Burr was endeavoring to work upon his resentments with a view to enlist him in his enterprises "*against Mexico*,"—that he believes Burr in professing to serve him and to take an interest in his case was deceiving him, and that while he was calling the two Smiths by the most execrable names, he was stimulating them to persevere in their proscription of him (Truxton). That from the amicable manner you had at first received him, he was persuaded the hostility did not proceed from you; and that some artifices must have been employed to deceive you between that period and the second time he waited on you, when he said you received him with studied coldness. This explanation of his discourse, it is but fit should accompany the anonymous note; as it may be very possibly the act of an enemy of Truxton, though it certainly merits a cautious pursuit and inquiry, from the obvious connection of the parties, Dayton and Burr.

I shall just beg leave to suggest, that many of your warmest and most devoted friends here conceive that some notification to the several states concerning the militia, or the first measures for providing a contingent to be organized upon a further call, would not only greatly serve the public interest but produce many other salutary effects, in promoting a disposition in the country to maintain some appearance of a constitutional militia. Maryland and Delaware being without any; and in fact in this state, the Governor encourages every measure that can tend to dispirit or to retard an efficient organization. The tax is

excessive on those who belong to uniformed corps, and the command of a regiment stands the commander in 200 or 300 dollars a year expense so lax is the system. This, however, I submit with deference.

Extracts from a second communication from Michigan 22 October.

"A bank is established at this place under the auspices of certain gentlemen of *Boston*, among whom are *Russell Sturges*, *Nathaniel Parker*, two *Basses*, one *Coverley*, one *Wheeler*, &c., &c. *John Jacob Astor*, of New York, and some others of that city, and elsewhere on the Atlantic coast, are concerned. By the law formerly noticed establishing this bank, it admits of a *specie capital* of a *million* of dollars, and *branches* may be extended to any other place at the discretion of the concern. Only 20,000 \$ are called in to begin with."

Extracts from a third communication, 5 Novr.

"You will receive a *Bill* by the mail that takes this from Detroit. That Bill is now pending in S. U. S. accompanying which will be also sent a Remonstrance of the Grand Jury of this territory against certain provisions therein. Had the Bill no other bearing than those merely local to the territory and government it is probable that you would not be asked to publish them. But many of us here and of the best informed sedate men consider from some provisions which it contains that it is calculated to *facilitate a great nefarious and traitorous design* now hatching in the Western country.

"Mr. Jackson of Virginia noticed in a former communication was the chairman of the committee that framed the Bill, and from what I learn since I wrote before he is a very different character from what I then conceived. Governor *Hull* and Judge *Woodward* were at Washⁿ, when the bill was brought forward. Woodward it is said drew it up. Before those gentlemen left the territory in 1805, not a syllable was suggested of any necessity or design to alter the government of the territory. The project was hatched probably at Washington, and Woodward is said to have been very strenuous to push it through last session, that the business might be completed before any hint of it should transpire here where we were to be most affected by it. It failed in the Senate after passing the other house, an unlucky stroke for the Judge, a fortunate one for the people here. The governor on his return in June brought the first copy and the first knowledge that existed of the Bill in this territory. It was shewn only to a select few until the Judge arrived in September. Soon after the Supreme Court held a session, and a grand jury of the most respectable citizens from every part of the territory were summoned to attend. Judge Woodward among other things committed this Bill to their consideration and said it wanted only the approbation of the Grand Jury to pass the

U. S. Senate, which Congress would consider as the sense of the territory. He recommended that if they were in its favor they should so report, if they disapproved a report was not necessary. He was careful however not to commit his charge to writing. The G. Jurors read the Bill with astonishment, and reported their candid sentiments to the court. At an adjourned session soon after they took it up again and a Remonstrance which will be sent you was the result of their unanimous deliberation and vote.

“ In the obnoxious provisions of the Bill beside private objects, the meditated aggrandizement of the *Judge* has excited much indignation; there are two other objects that I shall particularly point out to you because they bear upon the *nefarious and traitorous conspiracy* before alluded to—at least in case such a design be in operation, of which none of the intelligent men here doubt.

“ *First.* As the essential mark of *despotism* is manifestly borne on the provisions regarding the change of this territorial government, it appears to have been intended to try the *republicanism* and spirit of the people in this quarter, to see whether they possessed a substantial regard for *principles* or whether they might not be led passively to follow a despot and engage in any undertaking, however flagitious, desperate or destructive of their own freedom or the happiness of America; and finally to see how they might relish an *imperial* or *royal* government, should such an one be set up *west of the mountains*, or possibly the British government should it [be] thought necessary to give G. Britain a *slice of this fur trade and peltry* country (with its inhabitants) for assisting to dismember the union.

“ *Second.* I perceive that among its objects was the present secretary of the territory, a Mr. Griswold, and a direct attack on him by one of the prime movers strengthens this idea; he has stood aloof from them with a cautious but not offensive reserve; yet the distance he appears to keep is alarming to them, and his opportunities in his situation are such as to disconcert them very much, especially as the best and worthiest men here place confidence in him; and if the design of dismembering the union should unfold itself further, he might be a serious obstacle to their designs; besides it is his duty to act as governor under particular emergencies, and if there should be any misconduct in any officer towards the union however high we confide in his arresting him. A young man of the name of Watson from Boston arrived here soon after the Governor in June. He declared that he came to be Secretary of the territory, and that his business here was that and waited here for that alone.

“ Another curious fact. After Judge Woodward found what the grand jury had done with his Bill, and that they were about to transmit their remonstrance, he fell upon the expedient of summoning as Colonel

of the first Regt. of militia, two delegates from each militia company, to meet him in convention, to take into consideration (as he expressed it in his circular) "*the state of public affairs*"; it is supposed for the purpose of obtaining *somebody* to recommend his bill. The convention is to be held a few days hence, but he will effect nothing except mortification to himself. Indeed he has fairly out-intrigued himself in this territory, on the bench and in the legislative board where it is too true [he] is both ridiculous and odious. The Citizens at a large and respectable meeting lately voted that he ought to be *impeached and removed*. How far they will proceed with this I know not, but a committee has been appointed to address Congress on the subject.

"The Governor has shown a disposition to retract, so far as he has had concern in the intrigues and practices now so much condemned by the citizens; which has to appearance created a breach between him and the judge.

"If there be a design on foot to *dismember the Union* there are many of us here ready to resist and with means to expose and defeat it, with proper precautions. Knowing your fidelity and honor, I leave to you to make the proper use of the information I communicate, and what ought and what ought not to be published."

Decr. 26, 1806

Since the receipt of the above a debilitating rather than a serious indisposition prevented me from closing and forwarding the above. Another letter from the same quarter of the five Novr. encloses an extraordinary letter addressed to the Legislative Board by Judge Woodward. As it does not relate so much to general as to local affairs, and is a most extravagant and intemperate act for a man in such a station, I do not send a copy unless it should be of any use. The copy I have is authenticated by Peter Anderson, Secy. of the Govr and Judges.

I took the liberty of suggesting in the preceding sheet the feelings and wishes of your warmest friends, and of the soundest principles, concerning the Militia; the policy even were it only to keep the militia spirit awake and the people conscious of their own rights and importance, the declarations of men in the regular military service, too plainly indicate the danger from large military establishments; men educated in a profession wish to exercise it — and thank God our country and policy are not such as is calculated to promote standing armies or war; an organization of the state contingent would at least in this state produce the most salutary effects. That I do not look to anything personal (except trouble and expense) is obvious because as Colonel of the best regiment in the State, I am as high as I could go under the *present reign*, and should rather prefer to command my company than my

regiment if it were not for the political use that my submitting to the drudgery of acting as colonel and even as adjutant and sergeant major of the corps. The duty however gives me better ideas of matters which I find useful as an Editor.

I could wish that the chief of the conspiracy could be seized, with 20 men whom I could select, and properly provided with each a good horse and close arms, I think I could bring him to Washington, and would cheerfully undertake it.

As the tone I have maintained in the Aurora on the Non Importation law and British affairs, may not be understood as I conceive and intend them, I think it incumbent on me to state the principles upon which I act. In the first place I am convinced in my soul that nothing is to be expected by the U. S. from G. Britain on the score of justice or right. That all must be the effect of her *fears*, her *interests*, or her *dangers*.

This alone would be sufficient; but the conduct of all the agents (particularly of *Bond* here) is so gross and indecorous, that the popular Scourge cannot be too severely laid upon him. The agents and emissaries take their tone from these official men. And it is due to the country that their deceptious course independent of their virulence against the government, should be repelled. I feel some gratification in perceiving the effect produced by the incessant fire I have kept upon them during my recent indisposition.

On the other hand a strong motive with me is to afford the government a *countervailing argument* against the complaints which the minister of France may make (knowing what his master made before against the Aurora) I disdain the idea of the *tyrant*, who has superseded by his power the liberty of France; but as he is upon equal terms with the combined powers, as a politician he must be judged on equal terms with them. Beside if there could be any danger from him, and there may be at least *inconvenience* and much evil use made of any complaint which he might make, I have conceived it to be *my duty* seeing that the Aurora has considerable repute, to take up the subject in such a way as shall without committing a single principle of national honor or right, give at least so much assurance as a single Gazette can give that the abuse of France and its chief is not the act either of the administration nor the sentiment of the people. The same sentiment induced me to dwell on the Non Importation act, and to disapprove of its repeal or suspension — because it might be fairly pleaded that the paper was not under the influence of the administration. These explanations I hold to be due to you, and to myself. In any mode that I can serve my country I am at your service, because I am sure that you would not suspect me of being an hunter of office, but one who really feels the true glory of being a freeman and the duty which every

man owes to devote his faculties to the service of his country, and his life if the exigency calls for the sacrifice. This is my sentiment, and it is that in which I have educated my children. I am, &c.

*To Jefferson.*¹

RESPECTED SIR, — The following is a copy of an anonymous communication made to me, which has since produced a correspondence with the writer, and a disclosure of the Cypher, therein alluded to, a copy of which I also subjoin.

[Copy]

“MR. DUANE, — In addition to the facts stated in your paper of this morning, you may add the following if you think proper.

“That in the month of *July* last, a confidential friend of Colonel Burr, left with some persons (whom he thought his *dupes*) the Key in Cyphers to write him; that the letters were directed to D^r. Clarke, Esq^r., at N. Orleans.

“The aforesaid *Key* is in my possession, should you wish to see it, it shall be communicated confidentially, as well as the true and genuine plan of the Great Colonel which is the same in effect as was published by you this morning.

“Yours truly,

“A DEMOCRAT AND FRIEND

“10th Jany. [1807]”

After certain notifications and some few private notes in reply containing no additional public matter, the Copy of the Key was left at my house, a copy of which I inclose on a separate paper.

I have been informed from very creditable authority that Dr. Bollman, is one of the agents of Mr. Burr at Orleans.

Mr. Burr I am told had made application to a celebrated French Engineer, who lives (or lately lived) at Baltimore, he was formerly the Count La Marc, or Lemarque, and is known now by the name of Godefroy.

I am also told that some young men from this city have started within a week, to join in the treason; one of them is named *Fries*, son of the store-keeper corner of Market and Third, formerly the old gaol; the names of the other young men I have not yet learned; though they are all allowed to be federalists.

On the paper annexed to the Key, I send copies of two letters that in my mind merit very serious attention. — The source from whence they are derived is unquestionable.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

Our State legislature exhibits a melancholy scene of governmental intrigue. — Indeed Mr. McKean has completely succeeded in destroying poor Sam^l. Bryan, who is now in this city with a numerous and young family, and I believe not 50 dollars in the world; his furniture is left to pay his rent at Lancaster; and his whole offence constancy and principle, integrity in discharge of his duty, and an invincible fidelity to the principles of the Revolution.

Mr. Steele who was the Republican Candidate was thrown out by an intrigue of the most scandalous nature. He is under a prosecution at the suit of the Governor for 50,000 dollars damages; for signing an address of the members of the Legislature, recommending S. Snyder as the Governmental Candidate. Deploable to say the intrigues of the Governor's partisans succeeded in setting up the author of the address, who was not prosecuted, against Mr. Steele, who only signed it: and it was to defeat this odious intrigue that Mr. Gregg owes his election. These are painful occurrences to men who devote their lives and indeed their peace and comfort to sustain the cause of liberty & virtue; they are afflicting & discouraging; to see men whom we deemed virtuous only a few weeks ago, by their avarice of office putting the whole interests of a state at hazard, and endangering the cause of republicanism by destroying confidence among brethren and exciting the Exultation of the wily and unprincipled adversary parties.

I trust you will excuse my freedom in thus writing to you, in the present troublous times; but as the countenance you have occasionally given to the faithful men of the state has considerably sustained good principles, so people here still look to you to counteract when occasion honorably offers, the fatal effects of the existing administration of the State. I do not write for any answer, nor wish to trouble you with writing one. It will be sufficiently grateful to me, if I contribute by my efforts any useful service, or afford you a satisfactory evidence of a very warm and sincere heart.

Yours faithfully.

To Madison.

PHILADELPHIA, May 1, 1807

SIR, — I am induced to apply to you on the present occasion by an incidental hint which fell in conversation from a very intelligent gentleman in this city, who enquiring the progress of my edition of D^r Franklin's works, suggested that I ought to make application for liberty to copy such articles as might be deemed of value of D^r Franklin's political productions while he was abroad, and that there were such in the Department of State. As I had not before conceived that idea,

and as I cannot now say whether it is well founded or not, I have thought it proper to intimate a wish to you, in this respectful form, to be permitted to transcribe any papers of Dr Franklin's that may be so deposited, and which it may not be improper to publish. I should have made this application long since, had I not expected to have been in Washington long before; nor shall I expect any answer at present, as I propose waiting on you personally for the purpose, on my way to Richmond about the 20th of the present month. I have not thought it proper to trouble the President on the subject, concluding that you would if necessary consult him.

I see by the papers that Capt. M Gregor's commission as consul at St Croix had not been received some time ago — I forwarded it to Mr Prom a Danish Merchant at St Croix, who is the husband [of] my wife's sister, and make no doubt of its safe delivery — I thought it proper to mention this lest it should be supposed I had omitted to send it.

I am Sir With respect Your obed^t Ser^t

W^m DUANE

*To Jefferson.*¹

WEDNESDAY MORNING, July 1, 1807

RESPECTED SIR, — I left late last night in the hands of your servant two letters from Richmond entrusted to me to be delivered to you, the lateness of the hour deprived me of the pleasure of delivering them in person; and as I have no business that would justify my occupying your time, I have preferred dropping this note for you, with a tender of my services in any situation which my humble talents may appear to you useful in the present crisis of affairs, when zeal, fidelity and intelligence may perhaps be required. The sense of the country on the recent outrage, is such as your most earnest wishes could look for under such circumstances, and I am persuaded that the more prompt, decisive and marked by resolution and confidence in the people, the more will your honor and the safety of the country be promoted and secured. The Whigs of your native State are as full of zeal as in any period of the Revolution. The town meeting at Richmond was by much the most respectable I have seen on any such occasion, and their spirit was happily contrasted by the puny efforts of Mr. Fenton Mercer and young Gamble, to take away from the energy of the proceedings there; these two young men and the son of Chief Justice Marshall formed the whole of the minority.

A letter from my son of the 26th ult. met me here, and contains the following remarkable paragraph.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

“There is a correspondence now going on between *Jonathan Dayton* and John Marshall, Chief Justice — and between Jonathan Dayton and Yrujo — Dayton tries to feign a handwriting different from his own, but without effect. This may be relied on.”

Mr. John Morgan formerly Adjutant General in Jersey, but now of Washington, Penna, arrived in this city in the same stage with me, the evidence of that gentleman, his father and brother is spoken of as very honorable to them and important to the public.

It was said when I left Richmond that Mr. Burr had been tampering with the guard over him; Major Scott in my hearing directed an additional sentinel.

Genl. Wilkinson told me he would leave Richmond on Wednesday, (this day) for Washington.

Mr. Graham whom I met at Dumfries desired me to present his respects, he meant to come on with Wilkinson.

Any commands you may have for me of any kind it will afford me particular satisfaction to attend to. I am, &c.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. July 8, 1807

RESPECTED SIR, — Whatever may be the ultimate issue of the violence already committed by the British, I respectfully submit if it would not be expedient to make immediate arrangements for the establishment of Telegraphs such as would render the communication between the extremes of the union and the principal points on the sea-board, and the seat of government prompt and clear.

The expense of such an establishment would be found on inquiry not very great, and the machinery might be constructed upon principles so simple as to convey any species of Information with accuracy. The advantages of such an establishment in the event of offensive operations on different points of our coasts, I need not point out to you. Permit me to suggest that the most simple would be the system of numerical signs, which might be so contrived as to refer to a numbered vocabulary or Dictionary prepared for the purpose. The names of places persons and things not usually found in Dictionaries might be added in the key book. Or an ordinary pocket Dictionary might be first prepared by scoring out such words as were not essential for the purpose and numbering the words in progression. From such a system all the advantages of publicity or secrecy might be preserved at discretion, either by placing the key only at the point of intelligence and in the possession of such persons as were in the confidence of Govert. This idea was suggested to me by the famous cypher of Burr.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

Will you with your usual goodness permit me to offer a few suggestions, which, tho' I make no doubt some of them may be already more completely conceived and unfolded by other and abler hands, will not I hope be inexcusable from me, for their intention is good.

If the British persist in making war on us it will be perhaps principally by commercial depredation, secondly by their old system of conflagration and outrage on the seaboard, and thirdly by carrying into effect those designs which were conceived and prepared to be carried into *execution* when the sudden conclusion of the peace of Amiens stopt the enterprise, but out of which have since arisen the Expeditions of Miranda and Burr.

I believe it is well understood that the two armaments which were cotemporaneous with the French Louisiana expedition formed in the ports of Holland were intended for South America and Florida. It is very probable that the project against the latter was intended to be affected had Burr succeeded at N. Orleans. In the event of their determination upon a war Florida will certainly become an object to them both of political advantage in relation to the W. Indies and of annoyance to U. S. Under the plausible appearance of only attacking Spain, they may expect to quiet their *adherents* in the U. States; and the little difficulty which they would find in occupying St. Augustine or Pensacola would afford to the disaffected adherents of Burr in that quarter a temptation too flattering for men disgraced and dishonored as they must be not to procure for the British many adherents. It is a certain fact that Elizabeth the daughter of the President of Princeton College, did not very long ago declare at New Orleans, in words to this effect, to a gentleman in a company where several were present — “Damn ye! you have destroyed Burr, but not the principle, and *you will suffer in less than two years* for your present conduct: damn ye! fifty of you should have been assassinated!” “Who minds what a woman says!” replied the gentleman. “Yet I wonder your husband don’t teach you more discretion.”

The Princeton Amazon replied. “If they durst speak you would have harder things from them.”

My second son who I sent by Pittsburg in the track of these gentry and returned here on Friday in the Spanish Lady, says that much disaffection prevails there still. Some of the intrenchments established by Wilkinson are leveled. And many speak of the future realization of what has miscarried by vigilance of government and the attachment of the people. Circumstances such as the conversation of this warlike lady cannot arise from shallow sources; the terms indicate much more than the sentiment reveals. The occupation of Florida would in a great measure lead to the loss of Louisiana, at least to render its settlement more remote and precarious; further reflections I need not offer,

because if my premises are at all plausible or likely to be matters of action, the results are easily foreseen. Under any circumstances of war, whether Florida should be attempted or not, attacks real or feigned would be made on various parts of the coast; the eastern coasts would be attempted if Florida was the object, and the Hudson, Delaware and Chesapeake would be alarmed to direct attention from Florida. These reasonings are founded on the reality of an intended and active war. Permit me to continue the train of my thoughts on the subject.

Experience shows that offensive operations conducted with vigor and spirit are more effective than measures merely defensive. The spirit and enterprise of the American character are peculiarly fitted for offensive enterprises. To guard ourselves the best principle of defence would be prompt and multiplied enterprises against them. All their points are vulnerable. The employment of any force we should chuse against them out of our own territory would not weaken us. Two or three bold enterprises might add to our resources, and even an expedition that should but be partially executed against them, would be fatal in its measure according to the nature of the position attacked. Their commerce, their credit, the popularity of their governmental agents would all be shaken, and their being forced to act on the defensive would be to us preservation.

There are four points at which the British might be attacked with peculiar advantage to us and disadvantage to them. And the attack of some of them would be essentially a part of our defensive system. Canada would be necessarily attacked to protect us from the British emissaries and the resources of war supplied by them to the Indian tribes. The capture of Halifax would be essential to deprive their fleet of a harbor. Expeditions thither could not be overlooked nor omitted, and the materials for the seizure of both would require little more than the breath of government to create them. Two other expeditions ought at least to be prepared, and if not carried at once into effect might be avowed as intended. One against Newfoundland and another against Jamaica. The former would not require 4,000 men. The latter would require 20,000 and a reserve of 10,000. The expense, and the difficulties of the attack on Jamaica I am perfectly aware of; but I am also aware of the magnitude of the consequences which would result from an attack upon Jamaica. Its commercial consequence and the political influence of that commerce. Its being the only island which can subsist itself during a war. These are considerations that ought to tempt enterprise to surmount difficulties. The best mode of conducting such an expedition, the points of descent, the means to prepare it, and the measures to insure its accomplishment, would necessarily better result of inquiries and considerations more experienced than I presume to be. But I cannot be mistaken I think in the mo-

mentous influence which the *boldness of the idea* of attacking Jamaica would produce on the Royal Exchange and in the Cabinet of George III. I believe the very menace would be better than a battle of Trafalgar and as decisive in its degree as the battles of Austerlitz or Jena.

An actual war would of necessity give us the aid of the navies of France and Spain. Jamaica could be best attacked from Porto Rica or from Cuba or from both. The French under Bellecombe took Newfoundland with 400 men in the year 1762; 4,000 provincials retook the year after, without more than a dozen lives lost; occupation would be conquest, and the effect on the British Fisheries, I need not describe to you who have written with so much intelligence on the subject. If there is war will it not be essential to have a camp at Saratoga or on the Lake Champlaine? And to keep a very vigilant eye on the Upper Canadians; to repair or raise new defences at Detroit and Niagara.

I have thrown these hasty reflections together in perfect assurance that they will meet a favorable reception. Every man owes to the Society of which he is a member the tribute of his services; if my ideas are not such as better judgments would approve or act upon, I have the satisfaction of knowing they are fairly intended and will be so received, I am, &c.

There is an English officer of the name of *Connolly* in this neighborhood. His deportment and other circumstances induce me to think he is on some mission. *Lefevre* an Irishman who you may recollect concerned in the Yazoo is constantly with him. They are both at Bristol at present. I have no opinion of *Lefevre*.

This letter is not written to obtain an answer, but merely to offer the ideas it contains for consideration. I shall take the liberty some day this week of offering you some observations on the present condition of Fort Mifflin.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. Oct. 16, 1807

RESPECTED SIR, — I have just received yours of the 14th and shall attend to the matters noted in it.

I have laid apart for you a copy of Jarrold's animadversions by way of answer to Malthus, in which *my side* of the question is taken against Malthus with much ability, tho' I think he has left a great deal unsaid.

The conversations on chemistry, English Edit. I fear cannot be had. Cumberland I think may.

Macmahon's Book and the Elements of Botany I can also get, and shall carry them on with me at the close of the next week.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

Our election in the *city* has been a very ardent one. My friends during my absence at Richmond put me up as Senator for the State, and this brought out the whole Tory progeny. We have had 800 votes more given in than at any former Election in this city, and altho' there were more votes for me than were ever given for any member of Congress of the same politics, Swanwick, Clay, Jones, or McClenachan, yet they polled 500 ahead; no doubt there was enormous fraud, but there was also unprecedented exertion. As is often the case, tho' I had no knowledge of my own nomination, and was adverse to being elected, and tho' to be elected would have been most ruinous to my personal affairs, the anger and irritation has been such, that hundreds now blame me as the cause of failure for suffering my name to be run.

This singular direction of popular mistake affords me an opportunity that I have long looked for of making an effort to retire from politics altogether, and to devote the remainder of my time and capacity to the concerns of my growing family. This I mean to do in such a way as to avoid a false eclat and to still preserve the utility of the Aurora. My son whose competence to the duty has been tried will go on in the same track, and whenever my habits propel me to politics of course I will not restrain my feelings nor my exertions. Should war, or any serious exigency, demand my humble talents, they are as ever at your command. In the event of peace I must endeavor by industry to discharge the heavy encumbrances of debt which I incurred in supporting the cause of my country, which I have but partially discharged for a few years past, and the interest of which alone has been a dead weight upon my industry. I think it due to the kind and constant good will and friendship with which you have honored me so uniformly and so long to state these my feelings and purposes to you, lest misrepresentation should give another hue to my conduct or pursuits when they become known.

A person called on me this day stating that an armed British ship had met an American coasting vessel or pilot boat, and after abusing those on board the American vessel, delivered a letter for the British Ambassador. This letter he put into my hands under an impression that to have received it was illegal, and confiding that I would advise him what was best to do. I advised him to forward it to the President, which he authorized me to do, and I have accordingly put it under a cover, for you. It goes by the same mail as this. I don't know where Mr. Erskine is, but I suppose at Washington.

*To Jefferson.*¹

(Received Dec. 5th, 1807)

RESPECTED SIR, — By the mail which carries this I have taken the liberty of sending you a copy of the first number of the *Military library*,

¹ Jeff. MSS.

a compilation of my own ; it is my purpose to collect all that is to be had in the best books and to give them such a form as the first number exhibits, which may lead judicious men to inquire and think, and inform those who are uninformed. I have obtained thro' Genl. Dearborne's kindness the use of several books from the War Office Library, and particularly the invaluable but prolix work of *Guibert*, the whole substance of which I mean to comprehend in my work. I have the French system translated making about 700 manuscript pages, to which will be added perspicuous diagrams of all the modern movements. It will be seen that from the price of this number, I have not looked so much to profit as to public utility, and I persuade myself that the circulation of such a work would be of very great use. I have conversed much with Genl. Wilkinson on the subject, and meet his ideas as far as I was competent to discourse with a man of practical experience.

I propose preparing as part of my work a *Manuel* for American militia, the object of which is to supply what is wanted in Steuben's little tract; and to accommodate it to the use of every description of troops, Infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and to add to it some ideas of combination of movement of the various kinds of force. I explain myself to you with the same frankness and unreserve that your uniform kindness has encouraged me always to do, perhaps it would appear upon consideration that this work would be worth recommending to such militia officers as are in Congress, for there is no work on military affairs extant which communicates any consistent information on more than one branch of service; and a library of various books contains so much extraneous matter and besides the books are both scarce and expensive, that it is scarcely possible to collect them for several years.

Law suits have detained me here and will detain me till at least after the 20th instant, so that I shall not have the pleasure of delivering the books you ordered till the first week in January. Mr. Barton's botanical book is not to be had in sheets. Cumberland's work is to have a second volume; there is no English edition to be had here but in quarto, which I did not take, knowing that you preferred 8vos.

Neither is there an English copy of Mrs. Bryan's Chemical Conversations to be had.

Col. Burr was to sail this day for Richmond. I have not yet heard that he is gone; he was arrested here on Tuesday at night at the suit I believe of *Alexander Henry*, whom you may remember as notorious jobber in the 8 per cent loan; it was ten o'clock at night before he obtained bail. I have not been able to learn who were his sureties.

We are in a bad way here as to our militia. The uniform corps will not serve under McKean. He has ordered them to be called out in companies, to annoy them; and as no law authorizes they will not I

much fear obey him; the company I commanded formerly, now commanded by Mr. Graves, will however by my advice turn out; but *Rush* and some others say they will not, unless under your authority. I know how many delicate and unpleasant considerations might arise from these dispositions all flowing from the best and most honorable motives; but in the manner that they have been treated by McKean, the contumelious dismissal of their commandant of the Legion and a variety of vexations that his malignant temper and the malignant dispositions of his advisers have prompted, renders it a matter more unpleasant than surprising. As soon as I heard of it I waited on some of the officers, and endeavored to induce them to turn out. Capt. Greaves alone I could prevail upon; but they have consented to call on the adjutant Genl. and converse with him. The argument they use by the bye is different from the true one. They say they are willing to turn out with their own officers, not with officers of McKean's nomination, in whom they could have no confidence. They are willing to take their turn in the ordinary draft as other militia even under McKean, but as the law does not oblige them to turn out as Volunteer corps and the President has not accepted their services, they will abide by the law. They add however that they are not ready to go from home and leave men behind them who are the deadly enemies of the Government, who are exempted from service & enjoy their property under a government for which they will not fight, and whose friends they would destroy. These matters are yet not publicly known, and no efforts shall be untried to prevent bad effects. I am, &c.

*Esenbeck to Duane.*¹

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jan: the 11th, 1808.

Mr. Duane will oblige me to have the following Advertisement inserted in your usefull Paper, and send the Acc^t to Mr. Waitman your Agent and I will pay him.

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is a curious old man near the Treasury Office in the City of Washington who served the United States near 15 Years, and he says: that from his Youth up he studied different foreign Languages, and now he is in his 57th Year and just finished his Studdies, for he found out a Language which he calls his own, which has the Power that he can convey his thoughts as far as the Eye can see, the Ear can hear and understanding can conceive, a distance of 4 miles in five minutes, and converse in Cypher with any Person he gives the Key on any Subject whatever. He thinks and says that if his delectographical Language

¹ Jeff. MSS.

which can be used by Land and water, would be applied as a Delegraph would have such effect and would answer a very good purpose in War. He will prove it, and give the Key to the President of the U. S.

WILL : ESENBECK.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 12, 1808

RESPECTED SIR, — There may or may not be *something* in the matter enclosed. if there is anything useful perhaps it may be obtained better without than with an advertisement, as the *subject* appears to me to be of very great importance.

Tho' I think the *Dictionary Telegraph*, with signs by *numbers* referring to the Words in the Dict'y, the most perfect system that can be devised.

With the utmost respect.

To Jefferson.

PHILADELPHIA, 17 January, 1808

RESPECTED SIR, — I think it my duty to enclose the letter herewith sent. I have cut the name of the person and his place of residence out, only in obedience to an injunction made to me repeatedly not to let his name be known as my correspondent.

He is a man of unquestionable integrity, and is sufficiently wealthy to be above all temptations to forfeit his character for worldly motives ; he has sent collections of Books to be deposited in our public libraries, at his own expence, and became my correspondent wholly on account of his opinion of the Aurora, and the attachment which he feels towards your political fame and measures. I thought it necessary to say thus much of the writer, whose name I would give to you alone, because I am sure he would not object, but I do not send it, to guard against any accidents that might befall it in the way to you.

I have procured all the information practicable concerning the mine of Zinc on Perkiomen (22 miles from this city) which with Specimens of the ores, I shall give to Capt. C. Irvine, to forward to the Sec^r at War. I need not urge to you the value of Zinc, if a large quantity of brass artillery are to be cast.

There is no information of any kind here worth troubling you with.

I am, &c.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 29, 1808.

RESPECTED SIR, — The letter enclosed has just come to my hands; I have no acquaintance with the Gentleman who writes it, but have had, as he appears to know, received a number of communications more voluminous, but not so concise as this; all of them concur in making representations as strong and some even stronger than the enclosed. That there has been a most nefarious scheme of speculation carried on there appears to me beyond doubt. I think it my duty to send this letter, aware at the same time that much must depend on the character of the accuser and his motives: but there is certainly a very general concurrence in his opinions.

Judge Woodward has written me a letter intimating a design to reply to a series of papers on the concerns of Michigan which will give the other side of the question.

Mr. Hervey's letter is of course communicated in confidence.

I am with affectionate respect

*To Madison.*PHIL^A Feb. 8, 1808

SIR, — I expected before this time to have found some safe hand to transmit the *Volume* of papers by —— but have been until this day unsuccessful, a Gentleman who sets out in a day or two promises to take it under charge in his trunk; I have it for the purpose safely packed up.

I should have sent it before had I not meditated going to Washington myself, I find however that I can render more public service here than I could to myself at Washington, and have for the present abandoned the idea of going down; meantime, if there is any mode in which I can render public service, or if I by any mistaken ideas of facts (for I have no guides or advices but my own judgment) I shall be very happy to be informed or corrected, so as to render service and to avoid doing any disservice; however I know enough of the British Government and nation, to understand them pretty well, and the conduct they have pursued is too much in character to admit of any second opinion upon rational grounds. This much I think it fit to say on public matters.

Mr. John Bioren and myself have agreed to propose the printing of an Edition of the Laws of the U States in a neat form, perfectly corresponding with the ideas of an index and arrangement which you were pleased to mention to me about two years ago — I shall send you a

¹ Jeff. MSS.

copy of a Volume of Laws as a Specimen of the manner and Execution of the whole, and a specification of the terms and other particulars. I have associated with Mr Bioren on account of his excellence as a printer and because it would enable me to undertake business which my activity in the best interests of the country has hitherto *prevented*, rather than promoted as might in justice have been expected. I only mention this subject now, and consider this only as a personal note, in order that when I send the book the circumstance may not appear precipitate — I require no answer

I am Sir with great Respect

Your obed^t Ser^t

W^m DUANE

To Madison.

PHIL^A Feb. 20, 1808

SIR, — The enclosed information I conceive to be better disposed of in the Department of State than in a newspaper — and therefore transmit it.

I respectfully suggest that as the communicator did not perhaps expect to be thus before the Executive Department that in relation to him, to protect him from vengeance of Speculators, the letter be used only as in confidence.

I have the honor to be

Your obed^t Ser^t

W^m DUANE

JAMES MADISON Esq Sec^y of State

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. (Sunday) March 20th, 1808

RESPECTED SIR, — Capt. Norris' papers are in my hands, and should have been forwarded last week, had I not been (as I have been for six weeks past) harrassed by various law suits; ² I am this day released to rest, but tomorrow my suit, or rather Gouverneur Morris's suit against me comes on. It begun on Thursday and may be expected to end tomorrow; I have had no counsel hitherto, but have been induced to call in Joseph Hopkinson, with a view to introduce a copy of Mr. Stevenson de Berkenrode's letter from Berlin in 1795, which upon *common law* principles of evidence they would not let me even read.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

² "The storm beats hard against me here still. Last week and this Law, Law, Law. On Wednesday I am to be tried on a libel suit of *Yrujo's*. Thursday for a conspiracy to prevail upon Govr. McKean to commission a man sheriff duly elected. The object is to keep me from Lancaster and to ruin my affairs — on which subjects I should take the liberty of saying more if you were a private citizen." Duane to Jefferson, 29 February, 1808.

The libel is in these words. "Whence did Mr. Gouverneur Morris draw his compensation for his services at Berlin after his *dismissal* from the embassy to France for carrying on an *illicit correspondence*."

The words in italic are the libel.

I beg pardon for mentioning these things, but I have this further motive in doing it, that it will account for the deficiency of discussion and original matter generally for some time past. My mind has been wholly engrossed by these persecuting politicians, whose enmity against me is as acute and venomous at this moment, as at any former period. As soon as this suit is closed, I shall be free from law trammels till June; on Tuesday or Wednesday I shall put Mr. Norris's papers in order and forward them; I have advised him to obtain the affidavits from such persons as are at New York, and he has set about it.

The poor venerable man has lost the use of his left arm and the fingers are drawn in a cluster by the contraction of the sinews from the blows he received in defending his head and body against the cruel ruffians. He has been a revolutionary man, and was it seems very active in his youth against the British; his principles and language have never varied; and his character is that he always speaks the truth; among seafaring people, he is very well known under this character; and it seems the British officer was not ignorant of it, since he *paid him for country sake*.

The Randolphian Rescript has produced much the same effect as Timothy Pickering's. It has fixed men who were wavering and determined many to act in opposition to its dictates, who very possibly might have acted differently. Excuse me with your usual kindness. Ever affectionately & respectfully yours.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. Aug. 9, 1808

RESPECTED SIR, — The inclosed letter contains information of a nature that ought not to be unknown to the Executive, and I therefore inclose it.

The subject to which it relates induces me also to state, that much abuse of the Embargo has been committed in this port; I communicated to the Custom house information last week, of provisions and other articles put on board a vessel at one of our wharves; and instances have been frequent and notorious. The inability of Genl. Shee for a long time past, to give energy to the office; and the indecent hostility of Mr. Graaf the deputy Collector to the general administration and its public policy have combined to relax the due force of the law in a manner that is inconceivable unless on the scene of action. Indeed the

¹ Jeff. MSS.

Custom house is proverbially a den of disorganization and has been constantly one of the most fatal means of distraction and division between the friends of the public policy, and the professed friends. The appointment of a firm and upright character as the successor of Gen. Shee will not only be essential to the support of the public policy and law, but will in the effect of the choice greatly influence the Elections in this district, which if something is not done by discountenancing those officers of the government of the U. S. who foment distraction, and selecting persons who will prefer public duty to all secret influence of vicious individuals, if some thing of this nature does not occur, we shall be saddled with three malignant Federalists, Geo. Latimer, Jos. Hemphill, and Peter A. Brown, for Congress. I do not undertake to name any person as suited to succeed Gen. Shee, because it might seem to be a wish to promote some individual rather than the public interest that influenced these remarks. Much caution and correct information from sources to be relied on, are certainly requisite to guard against interested representations, and the movements of the enemies of administration at our Coffee houses.

In the State we shall carry our Presidential ticket without hazard, altho' I understand S. Maclay is coming forth with a Phillipic against Mr. Madison; but he has already committed political *suicide*, and what he may do can be only barely offensive without being destructive. I think it an act of friendship to my friend Leiper, who is one of the Securities for the Marshal of this district, to apprise you that I fear Mr. Leiper may suffer by being bail. Smith has purchased lands and built a kind of palace that cost about 18 to 20,000 \$. The property is covered by the name of Rebecca Robins the sister of Smith's wife, who it is well known had no more than 500 £ currency her portion. As this evil must grow with time, and as I have spoken and others have spoken to Mr. L. who appears at a loss what to do, I think it but justice to apprise you of it, so that Mr. L. may at least take steps to secure himself. I fear too, that there is a shipping concern in which the same person with his son-in-law a Mr. Dennis have been engaged, may tend to increase a future involvement, as Dennis has been very lately a bankrupt, and has sent a vessel under an Orleans clearance to Antigua, and I am told the vessel has returned new painted and under another name. I mention these particulars only to shew the extreme precariousness of the security.

There are many things which occur here that ought to be known, but I am apprehensive of being too troublesome to you.

Ever respected sir, &c.

To R. C. Weightman.

PHILA Decr 20, 1808

D^R ROGER, — By Samuel Carswell, Esqr of this city, who goes on business to Washington, I send you a volume of the Laws of Pennsylvania, which I wish you to present without delay to the Secretary of State, and signify to him that it is your intention to propose to him the printing of an Edition of the Laws of the U. S. in that manner, or on a size to correspond with Tucker's Blackstone, and with such an Index as he suggested two or three years ago in a conversation with me, the Index is in fact already compleated, in the manner of that executed for the Pennsylvania volume accompanying, and will be continued; it is contemplated to give to the edition double numerical references; that is to say as this edition would comprise in one page nearly two of the existing Edition; the marginal numbers of the former editions published by Authority would be marked on the margin, opposite the line of this new editon which begun each page in the old; so that reference could be made by this comprehensive Edition to the old Octavos from the beginning of the Fed^l Government.

I enclose you the Rough Sketch made about three years ago, between Bioren and myself, and tho' his name may or may not appear he would be an equal sharer in it for in fact the Indexes have been procured and Executed at his Expençe already.

You will take a copy of the Rough Sketch for your own information, and you may if you find it expedient exhibit that as well as this letter, for I wish to have no dealing in which there is reserve. You will be able better to judge of the prospect of success in such an application than I can, and it is absolutely expedient that I do something to get myself out of the hands of the Banks here, who worry me every day, a situation in which I never should have been placed were it not for the Washington Establishment, from the involvement of which I have never yet completely extricated myself.

If you do not see the business as clear as you should require, write by Post without delay — but take care of the book and present it at least with an intimation of what it is sent for.

I wish you would read my last letter to you over again — you seem to mistake in the extreme what I wrote [illegible] Yrs.

*To Jefferson.*¹

(Private)

Jan. 23, 1809

SIR,— The present state of public affairs and the events which in one shape or another must arise out of it, calls for the exercise of all

¹ Jeff. MSS.

your sagacity and resolution. You have stood the storm of the Revolution and passed through it with solid glory. You have sustained the shocks of a contemplated revolution more insidious, but not less menacing, and carried the national vessel safe through unexampled vicissitudes. There is a time when it would be better to perish than survive the ruins of one's country ; and I very seriously apprehend, that unless some measures be speedily adopted which may fix the national sentiment, that there will be a struggle of a most serious nature.

Impressions such as these alone could tempt me to intrude thus upon you, but I conceive it to be a duty of affection, to lay my suggestions before you, and trust confidently to your wisdom to decide whether I am mistaken in my apprehensions or in the mode which I venture to suggest as an immediate remedy. My means of information no doubt are partial, but such as they are, they are formed with as dispassionate a mind and with as earnest a purpose to ascertain true reports as can be found in the community. If I am mistaken, then it is my judgment, and my intention will be my excuse.

I think the time is now come to ask and act upon this question. *What is the best means of preserving the fruits of the Revolution from wreck?*

I believe that the British government have brought it to this issue and are determined to put our means to the test. I believe they have systematized conspiracy in the bosom of the land, and have lavished and laid up fuel for a conflagration. I believe that were there not a powerful back, that the treasonable and outrageous proceedings which have already taken place, would never have been begun ; and I am persuaded that forbearance has only taught them to calculate upon perfect impunity. The resources which they have provided, the materials with which they act, the manner of the action, indicate a determination to go to the most desperate lengths, and unless something be done, they will shake this continent to its foundation. No doubt the case is surrounded with difficulties — but it is for that very reason that it should be met with resolution ; the very impunity with which outrage progresses, is a sure aliment and aid to its progress.

Permit me to place the case before you with a view to its operation in society. Every man of observation knows the fact, that public discussion, argument, and reasoning upon measures of policy, are not addressed to the intelligent and the virtuous part of the community ; neither are they ever addressed to the hearts or heads of the depraved. There are in every society large masses of men, who never think or reason ; some who have no capacity for thought ; many whose judgments are too weak to be constant to any fixt ideas ; and very many who assume a mask of moderation or liberality only to cover their diabolical selfishness and depravity ; very unfortunately this mixture of

ignorance, imbecility, instability and hypocrisy is very numerous. It forms perhaps a full third of every society; and it is to the major part of this mass that all public discussions are addressed. They in fact make the majority in all critical times, and are as ready to be thrown into the balance on one side or the other, according to the mode in which they are addressed. With those who may be called the innocent classes of this portion of the people, whenever there appears to be vigor on one side and moderation on the other, they take the part of moderation, until the vigorous party become daring; they then withdraw to watch the conflict, and to join with whatever party that appears likely to be triumphant. It is a selfish feeling which governs them; and as they are not sufficiently well informed to fix an opinion for themselves, will go as readily wrong as right according to the impression which is made upon them. Indeed in such critical times, as there is more zeal and industry bestowed to produce wrong than to preserve right, the danger is greater; men in the right calm, confident and unsuspicious rely upon the virtue which they feel and appropriate similar feelings to others who have no consciousness of their influence; and it is on this innocent part of the community that the hypocritical portion act, and it is from these hypocrites that the agents of corruption and affliction are selected.

In such a case *what are the best means to be pursued for public safety?* How is the evil to be remedied. How is this innocent class, who according to my ideas have little force of mind, little judgment, who are so easily led wrong as well as right, and to whom wisdom and virtue are under the necessity of paying the homage of argument? It is a painful picture, but it is true, it unhappily is no fanciful feature, it is an existing being, and may be transformed into a tyger, a lion, or according to the regimen a lamb.

Who can forget that has had experience of the Reign of Terror, when a minority in fact of the whole nation terrified the nation and silenced even men of virtue. In prosperity they say we forget past sorrows. The time is now come to awaken the painful recollections of those days when you could not walk the public streets in security, when no man's home was safe who was not a minion or a sycophant of power; what they accomplished in power the same party will again accomplish out of power, if some measures are not taken to rescue the unthinking part of the nation out of the hands of the abandoned and corrupt. They already have proceeded so far as to set the government at defiance, openly violate the laws, and call for a dissolution of the Union. It is sickening to witness the airs of insolence and haughty contumely with which the American citizen is daily treated by the accredited agents of England. Bond had the impudence to tell me to my teeth *that it was a party question* that now agitated the Union!

But what is the remedy? I say first try what the effect will be

of removing the alimentary poison, which is suffered to infect society. The poison being removed the body politic has vigor and health. In any other nation on earth the leaders of the sedition now spread through the union would long since have been conducted to the dungeon or the gibbet; I do not admire such remedies; thank God they do not belong to our code of health; and it is because I wish that they never should, and that those who are laboring for the gallows should be themselves protected from their own worst enemies themselves.

But while the benevolence of our institutions interposes no check, the evil is progressing; the abandoned and corrupt are left to make proselytes among the weak and the wicked; the necessities of the times throw a considerable body of persons, who have no springs of action but their necessities, into the ranks of discontent; and if it is suffered to proceed must inevitably accumulate, with what effects it is difficult to anticipate.

The remedy which appears to me at this moment preferable to all others is the suspension of the functions of all the accredited agents of England, in the most formal manner; their conduct notoriously calls for it and justifies it; the suspension of commerce itself would be a sufficient motive; but their interference and insolence in our affairs is so notorious that public sentiment will not only applaud, but it will itself hold back thousands from falling into the snares of corruption; it will have an immediate effect on the nation; the friends of the Republic are in truth in a state of despondency; they see the audacity of the British agents every day passed over with impunity; respect for the government and laws alone has restrained the people here from doing great mischief; I have bestowed days and nights to avert such evils; and have incurred reproach for my "*pusillanimous moderation*." This disposition of the people and the forbearance of men of influence, is well known to them. The suspension of the functions of the British accredited agents would at once exhibit the determination of the government, and while it gratified the good, would fix the wavering and appal the profligate. Should they persevere in audacity after suspension, such a notification as Yrujo got would sustain and give new confidence to the people in their government; and the measure has so many circumstances to justify the procedure, that it could not be considered as a war measure. You have already dismissed foreign ministers and consuls without its being considered as a war measure. You have recalled ministers and consuls under similar circumstances. And England has done the same. I have not the vanity to suppose I can give you any information on this head, but I wish to shew that it is not a light or hasty conception; but such a measure as carries on it all that could be wished of efficacy without violence. It cannot be supposed that six newspapers in this city, four in New York, four in Boston

three in Baltimore, two in Norfolk, and two in Charleston could be supported as efficiently as they are without *secret supplies*. I find it impossible to get out of debt with the paper of greatest circulation in the country; and my personal expenses, beside clothing and food would be discharged with fifty dollars a year!

As to the effect on England, I candidly declare I do not believe it would have any; I believe that nothing which we can do, will ever induce her to alter her course of Policy. I believe she would have struck a blow long ago on some point of the continent, had not the idea of a civil war been confidently calculated upon. If the British agents remain they will realise the calculation — if they are dismissed we shall be saved.

The necessity of some decisive step to assure confidence in the friends of the government is imperative. The virtuous part of the nation look for it with impatience; and it is equally necessary to preserve the wavering part of the community from flying into the arms of the public enemies; for then civil war would inevitably ensue; and it is among that class that in all convulsions the most cruel of mankind are found; those who are now the pimps and panders of foreign agency, and cloathe their persons and their lips with words of sanctity and softness, would become the cut-throats of men of virtue. There is therefore in my humble opinion little time to be lost. A few weeks, or accidents which are not to be foreseen, or causes purposely prepared perhaps by an inveterate enemy, may convulse the nation; and the enemy may be beforehand with the government. I trust my fears however founded will find me an excuse for trespassing with them upon your better judgment and precious time. I am, &c.

To _____.

PHIL^A Feb. 1, 1809

SIR, — The enclosed letter and draft will explain each other — in an effort to make an entire settlement of all my personal affairs I have addressed, M^r Adams of Orange C^t House — the draft of M^r Gooch not being indorsed by M^r Adams is my reason for troubling you with the letter along with the draft.

I wish to send a small packet and some information to Mr. Lyman our consul at London, and am desirous it should go safely — may I take the liberty of sending it forward to go along with the dispatches for England?

I am Sir with great respect

Your obed^t Ser^t

W^m DUANE

The town meeting was very triumphant — But I am sorry to say that the private animosities of individuals greatly damp the best efforts

of the friends of the government — tho' we endeavor to conceal it from our adversaries, who do not so clearly discover as we feel the effects.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. Feb. 4, 1809

DEAR & RESPECTED SIR, — I have learned that the military rank which you were pleased to nominate me for, has been confirmed by an honorable majority of 21 to 10 in the Senate. I owe you the expression at least of my thanks for your goodness on this occasion, and for the general benignity with which I have always been honored and favored by you; it is to me a very great solace, that exposed as I have been and daily am to the persecutions of the most malignant of men, I yet hold a place in your esteem and regard.

I should not trespass on you at this critical period were it not due to your goodness and to my own honor to put you in possession of my sentiments at this particular moment. The report of a change in the War Department renders this more particularly necessary, lest I should be placed between two duties, to shrink from or to abandon one of which might be held dishonorable.

Unless the Eastern people, or a British force to aid rebellion, should stir up civil war, I see no likelihood of military conflict within the U. States. There may be a conflict in Louisiana or Florida, and it may be found necessary to invade Canada, Nova Scotia, or even N. Foundland; but these are to appearance remote events; and as the military station I possess thro' your favor is not at all subject to more [than] the trouble of parade and such studies as duty or taste may lead to thro' that station, I can speak of the subject without any danger of being suspected of a wish to shrink from danger, if danger were imminent and my services called for. If there was danger, I should require to be placed in front of it; there is none, and I may therefore without reserve state to you the motives of my present address.

As any man could render as much service as I could in ordinary, and that therefore my loss or my absence would not be missed in any position that I could be placed by my rank in the army; I have considered, whether in the situation in which I am placed, there may not be danger of rendering what was intended for my honor and credit, the cause of my ruin and that of a numerous family — these considerations to which no man of morals and honor can be indifferent, have called upon me to state to you precisely how I am placed.

You perfectly well know that the family of B. F. Bache has depended wholly and exclusively on me for subsistence and education. I have brought up his four charming boys, the eldest now 16, the

¹ Jeff. MSS.

other three progressively two years in succession younger, I have four younger children of my own by the mother of those sweet boys, beside my three elder children two of whom are married and have children and are in fact also dependent on me only.

Were I free from pecuniary encumbrances, or so circumstanced as to make a provision for this numerous family, my personal obligations would be in some measure enlarged ; but as I stand in relation to these, and as the military pay of a lieutenant colonel could not much more than support myself, and must leave them destitute if I were to abandon my present means of support.

But this is not all. I unfortunately encumbered myself with a debt of 22,000 dollars by making an establishment at Washington ; from which debt I have not been able at this time to clear off more than 4,000. So that I am now obliged to be dependent on Bank credits for that amount of 18,000 dollars. Were I to quit my present business upon the duty attached my rank while there is peace, I have no Doubt that in three weeks the banks would close my account, and that the little stock I possess in trade would be sold by a sheriff. As it is I am constantly harrassed with this bank influence, and it is not a little aggravated by the efforts made by officers of your appointment to increase this embarrassment and indeed to destroy me altogether. My affairs were no doubt brightening when the general storm of foreign outrage came on ; and now through great personal labor I manage still to keep progressing better instead of growing worse ; and a few years with the same assiduity and resolution would place me out of debt and render the remainder of my years easy and independent, as I should desire to be.

There is however a suit pending against me in the Circuit Court before Judge Washington. A Tory house at Boston searched throughout India and found the executors of a Doctor Nelson with whom I had commercial concerns, and in whose hands was found an old bond for 500 Rupees (250 dollars) this bond was bought for 20 Rupees by the house in Boston, and a suit instituted against me for the amount with the interest of India 12 *per cent* per annum from the day of the date, that is from 1791 to this time, amounting to more than 2,000 \$. This bond was in fact paid, but poor Nelson is dead, and I have ever been too indifferent about money to have been careful enough to see it cancelled. Yet I offered to pay it again, but nothing less than bond and interest too would be accepted, altho' I was plundered of *ten thousand pounds* and sent by force to Europe without crime or accusation. I have been particular in this case only to shew you *how far Tory enmity will go for vengeance* ; and to shew you the hazard which my family is exposed to and would be exposed to were I sent to any position so remote from hence as to endanger me at the banks, or carry me out of the

range of the courts of law, in which I am doomed I fear to linger out my life.

I have several suits and perhaps you may be surprised to learn that Mr. Snyder will not enter *nolle prosequis* on the two suits instituted by *Irujo* against me, and that I must continue to run the gauntlet of the courts under Snyder's administration as well as under McKean's. Dr. Romaine has instituted another suit against me for implicating him with Blount, and this is to be tried before Judge Washington, and a Jury summoned by a Marshal, who has as a Director of a Bank caused my credit to be sunk in that bank, and an investigation of my affairs by a committee of Bank Directors, some of whom were my most hostile political enemies.

This exposition of my situation I have deemed necessary to shew you in order that whatever destination it may be intended to fix for me in relation to the military rank, it may be considered how far I ought to be or not to be kept in view. The summonses of law, and attendance on the courts, I am bound by bail and otherwise to attend. No doubt if a war were to take place I should risk all the consequences and join the army in defence of my country; but as it is I cannot avoid nor would I evade them under any false colour of duty.

It may perhaps be said I ought not to have accepted because I must have known my situation. When general Wilkinson first signified to me that such a thing was intended, I stated expressly, that unless there was a war I could not accept any military station; but that in the event of a war, I would not refuse any; and when it was tendered to me afterwards I inferred that it was the sign of an immediate war, I knew I could be useful and I instantly determined to accept.

On the other hand I have been requested by some friends who know my situation now to resign, since the Senate have conferred the honor you proposed; I have replied that would be repaying your kindness with such ingratitude as I could not be guilty of; and which would be at this time at least unjust and ungenerous toward you.

In this predicament I am placed. In the event of war, I am at the disposal of my country in any position they deem me fit for. But without the necessity existing, I could not accept of any remote station that would take me farther than two days journey from this place. As a new Secretary of war may not be selected from those gentlemen with whom I have always agreed in Politics; and as there are several who tho' supporters of the administration have been very hostile to me, I think it necessary in such circumstances to put you to whom I am bound by gratitude and affection in possession of my real situation and my feelings.

The emoluments of the Lt. Colonelcy are in my estimation nothing. I pay two of my clerks each a sum larger than the pay of that rank;

and should, if it was not that I have performed some useful service, not have accepted any pay ; but I have been really serviceable at Fort Mifflin and in the recruiting business here.

You will soon have to retire from office, and I shall not while I live perhaps ever find a man like you to whom I can speak with the freedom and the confidence of integrity reposing in the bosom of wisdom and benevolence. To Mr. Madison I am very little known, and some of his friends who have done me a disservice and contributed to my embarrassments by their injustice will perhaps never forgive me, and render any usefulness that I might be capable of nugatory from a want of intelligence existing.

If however any views which you may have as to me may induce you to think that I could be rendered useful, and particularly in any emergency when men of intelligent minds may be required, I shall hold myself bound to obey ; and if my opinions or suggestions, on any branch of public affairs that come within the range of an active and observing mind ; I shall be ever ready to obey any call that may be made on me. This letter I address to yourself with an assurance of my most affectionate and earnest wishes for your happiness.

To Madison.

PHIL^A May 3^d, 1809

RESPECTED SIR, — Public motives, such as I conceive calculated to render service to the interests and honor of your administration, induce me to take the liberty of addressing you. The unhappy conflict which has arisen out of the case of Olmstead is now quieted so far as the law and the parties in that case are involved. The Militia men who under a blind opinion of obedience to their superiors have trespassed are now imprisoned, Gen. Bright to 3 months and eight others to 1 month each — the former to pay 200 and each of the latter 50 dollars fine.

Bright is a plain man of no cultivation, bred to the sea & rough as that element — he however served as a lieutenant in the military during the Revolution, and was a prisoner on board the floating dungeons at N. York, from which he made his escape by stratagem. He was once wealthy, but has been ruined by a partner of the name of Deihl, and is now in very indifferent circumstances ; he is a truly honest man, but what is very common with such men, very liable to be imposed upon by knaves, such was his misfortune in the recent case, an involvement which is to be attributed wholly to the intrigues of Cha^s Smith, son of the late Parton Smith who, having considerable landed property in arrear to the State, has labored with too much success to embroil the State, so as to produce such a change as may afford him means to avoid paying what he owes, amounting as I am told to 60,000 dollars.

This man operating upon the want of understanding of Mr Snyder and the intriguing character of Mr Boileau, Secretary of the Commonwealth, a man superficial in every respect, but cunning and in that quality proficient even to profligacy; Laycock a member of assembly who is endeavoring to raise up a spirit of resistance on the questions long agitated concerning appeals in Land causes; and Findley the State treasurer, a man more capable than any of the rest, but more close and insidious in his plans; these men are the real authors of the mischief; and it is this little junta who called in Smith, as a legal aid, because they had no man of legal education or of correct legal judgment amongst them; and who resorted to him under the expectation of being served in their views; he was to be rewarded with a seat on the Bench for his services; but the bubble burst, and both parties are disappointed; Smith is not a Judge, and the case of Olmstead has established a precedent fatal to their projects.

My conception of the case as it now stands is that as the law is satisfied, the clemency of the Executive promptly interposed would have the effect of frustrating the malignant purposes of those who are already seeking to engender feuds and divisions out of this case. My sole object in addressing you is to this end; and the government would derive here much credit for a timely termination of the imprisonment of those citizens; it would be more decisive in such a case, if the act of release were communicated thro' some well known and avowed friend of your administration rather than thro' the formal channel of the law department; since we already look forward to guard against the effects of these events on the political affairs of the state in three and four years hence. All the men are married men with families, excepting one only.

I trust, Sir, that the motives of this address will find with you a kind reception, and excuse me for the liberty of making it.

I have the honor to be with respect

Your obed^t Ser^t

WM DUANE

I do not write under the expectation of an answer — my wish is to submit my ideas on the case to your judgment with fairness — and I make no doubt that you will decide as shall be in your judgment most conducive to the public interests.

To Henry Dearborn.

PHILA. July 27. 1809

DR. SIR, — Immediately upon the receipt of yours of the 22d I set about the enquiry you wished me to make concerning Sheet Iron. Some days will elapse before I can advise you with certainty and in

such a way as to put you in possession of the best information. I have written to my old friend Col. Udree of Clay in Berks county, who is himself an eminent *Iron-master* and who supplies this city largely.

Here as yet I can only learn that the cut nails are not made from what is called *Sheet-iron*, but from what is called *hoop iron* and *nail rod iron*; the hoop iron wrought at our penitentiary here I believe costs about 10 cents the pound, but this is not from authentic information; I write you now only to let you know that I have received your letter and will attend to it with great pleasure.

The affairs with England are such as every rational man ought to have expected. I believe Jackson is sent to put us in that situation which must involve us in a war with France if we receive him, in war with England if we refuse him. I believe further that he is sent at the instigation of persons among us, that is persons in your State, for there can be no doubt of the facts lately published concerning S. Williams' letter to Mr. Preble at Paris about the proposed separation of the Union.

It is in my judgment the best policy of our government to procrastinate and wait for events in Europe, where we have in fact been best served and always rescued from impending peril.

This will be best also to let our Ships come home again, all that shall be *permitted*! And those whose infamous clamours against the wise and protecting policy of their country, ought to be made to suffer by their own measure of open commerce; in another point of view it will also be better, for you must know how utterly unfit our System is for war. What man is there who could stand the responsibility of any military undertaking or enterprize; how could it be conducted under existing laws and a total want of *organization*, of *System*, of *experience*, of military knowledge; when the principles of modern war are understood by scarcely *ten men of the profession*; when we have artillerists who know not how to fire a cannon, and some of the oldest officers who never fired or saw fired a mortar. I speak to this point from experience where I was posted by you, and from the information of the officers themselves; all whom I have conversed with speak in the same terms: and when on the 4th July I directed a detachment of 20 men from Fort Mifflin to march with our little corps to Phila. Capt. Read wished to be excused, that there was not a man in his garrison who knew how to handle a sponge. If you were in your former station I should be apprehensive of stating this to you, and the same delicacy will prevail now as to Dr. Eustis; because it would be considered perhaps in a different light from the intention. Indeed my dear Sir, the opportunity you gave me by placing me in a military command has added to my knowledge at the same time that it has encreased my chagrin. The very structure of our military establishment is such, and the indifference

or the want of a discerning and creative power to give it form and vigor would be with me alone a full inducement to avoid by every means not abject the commencement of hostility. Suppose an expedition were devised against Canada or Halifax, we should see Pickering in the Senate and Randolph in the other house immediately transformed into military critics, and by way of shewing their capacity to cavil at military designs they would expose and frustrate the best possible plans; for when we see both houses of Congress led away on subjects which they ought to comprehend, how much more effectual would sophistry and plausible assertion operate where the *orators* and *auditors* were wholly ignorant of what they were talking about. This is strong, but it is true & honest language, which men in authority ought to hear, but which they will not regard until misfortune opens their eyes and ears and senses.

I do not like to intrude upon men in authority, it is so much the fashion to do so only to ask favors; and this asking of favors is so often the motive that it is not surprising it should be so thought. To Mr. Jefferson I could say any thing without fear of being mistaken; I have too little acquaintance with Mr. Madison to take the liberty to volunteer my ideas upon him; tho' to all appearance for eight or ten years past I have been as little mistaken as if I had a constant communication with the heads of Departments.

If I had an opportunity to address Mr. Madison now, I would say to him — Let Mr. Jackson come forth, let him exhibit his credentials and having taken a copy, treat him with a stern civility; and as there is a precedent, if my memory serves me, during Gen. Washington's administration he might be informed in a finished note of diplomatic complaisance, that as the Senate are the constitutional advisers of the President his credentials would be laid before them; upon any difficulty being made by him, the necessity of the case would be reinforced by the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's engagements; and a willingness might then be expressed to listen to any evidence that Mr. Erskine had not been authorized to promise as he had done.

A proposal might be made for an interview and reciprocal expositions of the instructions of both Mr. Erskine & Mr. Jackson; or Mr. Erskine might be invited to exhibit his justification, or Mr. Jackson to shew he had not such instructions. A refusal to do either of these things would gain time for deliberation; and care should be taken to guard the sea-ports against the usual companions and followers of Mr. Jackson. At Munich and Carlsruhe, he associated with Sir Arthur.

Mr. Taylor organized that conspiracy to assassinate Bonaparte for which the Duke of Enghien was shot.

If Mr. Erskine does not justify himself here, or offer what he considers as his justification, so that our government may say whether he

was or not, it is not easy to discover how Jackson can be received and accredited.

There could be no means so fit and suitable as a meeting of the Secretary of State and one or more of our heads of Departments with Mr. Erskine and Mr. Jackson, and an explicit communication of documents.

If Lord Auckland (as is reported) should be sent he might also attend, and the Secty of State might report to the President & Senate the result; and until this should be determined there might be a suspension of any reception of Jackson, whom in fact we cannot receive without going to war; and against whom a remonstrance and denial should go to England by the first dispatch or by a special vessel.

These enquiries might afford time while such a message should be sent to Mr. Pinckney.

I fear very much lest this new emissary who is sufficiently desperate for a leader of assassins, and if I mistake not was the person who negotiated the murder of the Emperor Paul, should produce serious mischief, for he will be furnished with every means of corruption.

My best respects to Mrs. Dearborne.

I am Dr Sir with sincere esteem yours.

To Madison.

Nov^r. 1, 1809

SIR, — M^r Christopher Fitzsimmons of Charleston, South Carolina, and M^r Hugh Calhoun of Philadelphia, the former one of the most respectable men in his respectable State, & a zealous friend to your principles and measures, and those of your predecessor — M^r Calhoun is a merchant of this city, of the same principles.

They persuade themselves and flatter me, that the best manner they could obtain an introduction to you is by handing a note from me; you will perceive, Sir, that it is more a wish that this should be real than a consciousness that I am entitled to it which induces me to comply with their wish, you will however excuse me when you know M^r Fitzsimmons as well as M^r Calhoun.

Accept Sir my most respectful wishes

Y^r obed^t Ser

PHIL^a Nov^r 1, 1809.

To Madison.

PHIL^a 1. Dec^r. 1809

SIR, — Every man owes to his country the best services of which he is capable; if in an upright zeal to fulfil this obligation a man may overrate the value of his conceptions, the intention to do good will at once excuse the attempt and apologize for whatever trouble he may give in communicating the result of his reflections.

In the present situation of the national affairs, and considering that the uniform policy of the belligerents is now irrevocably fixt, as well as by fear and necessity on the part of Great Britain, as by interest and the pride of triumph on the other, that course which is best adapted to the interests and policy of the United States, tho' it cannot be very well mistaken by men of sober minds, is not so easily pursued directly as it would be were the attacks upon the nation open instead of insidious — or by other weapons than those of diplomacy and intrigue.

The country has not been more united on any occasion perhaps since the revolution as on the present occasion; the attack on the Chesapeake struck the influence of England to its foundations; and had Congress maintained the Embargo and called forth the Militia of Massachusetts only to enforce the laws; that influence could never have reared its crest; the Mission of Rose would have been a mission of temporary accommodation at least; and instead of the broken engagements of Erskine, and the contumacious audacity of Jackson, we should now have had either the open commerce of the World or the applause and respect of mankind as our passport to the friendship of nations after a peace shall have been established.

It is now a matter of the first importance to consider how the nation can best act under the present aspect of human affairs. It is morally certain that a peace whenever it takes place will be followed by an establishment of some fixt rules of law by which the nations who shall concur in them will be governed in their intercourse with each other; that some code analogous to the principles recognized in the writings of Barlow, Paine, Azzuni, and more early asserted by the Armed Neutrality of 1780, tho' not in so enlarged a sense; and that such nations as may either withhold their concurrence, or refuse to maintain them will be placed out of the law of civil society. The first question then is what course ought the United States to pursue in such circumstances?

This question however cannot be determined until a previous enquiry is made, what can the U. S. do under such circumstances? After this is examined the path appears not to be incumbered with any serious difficulties; and even this question can be met with perfect confidence and security if the Representatives of the people do not again abandon the executive; or that the executive determines to support the laws of the land whenever they are established. It is not my intention to say that the Executive did not act with a discretion truly benignant at the period when Massachusetts appeared to threaten a dissolution of the Union; but I am still convinced that had the Militia of Massachusetts or only 5000 men been embodied that the government and laws of the Union would have triumphed, and that there neither would have been a life lost nor a factious collusion with the agents of England exhibited since.

What can we now do? This question involves others, and particularly this; are there any means by which the national sentiment can be concentrated so as to bid defiance to every movement or menace of faction. It is not necessary to my present purpose to enter into the discussion of any collateral questions, since my intention is to offer the suggestions of my mind on this point alone. If this point can be accomplished the choice of means and measures afterwards will not be uncertain. If what I conceive proper to be pursued should yet fall short of the extent of advantage which I anticipate, even then we should not in any case be in a worse situation than we are without doing any thing; and if I conceive right all that the most benevolent wishes or the most zealous virtue could desire would be attempted by us.

The policy of the government and the real happiness of the people have concurred in rendering the nation adverse to the calamitous resort of war. The impossibility of raising large armies, as well as the unexaggerated danger of such establishments have the same operation; and the want of objects sufficiently contiguous to tempt enterprize, damps in a great degree the ardor of those whose military passions would be excited to a dangerous extent, were the temptations nearer at hand. It is impossible for this nation then to go to war, but when the whole people are united, when it is a sentiment of common danger or common resentment. Let me add another reason, the total want of a military system, or speaking largely of military ideas, incapacitates the U. S. from going to war by land.

Under all these difficulties if we were called upon for defense, the sense of danger would supersede the arrangements of policy: and the systems which we are now wholly destitute of would (tho' with a large purchase of blood) grow out of our dangers; we should as in the Revolution and as Peter the Great acquired his knowledge learn to conquer by being often defeated. I conceive war may be avoided. The purpose of this address is to suggest my ideas of the means.

Having exhausted all the artifices of Diplomacy, the British government will be governed in her deportment to us by the prospects which she may have in Europe. She will not abandon her policy of monopoly, unless perhaps for a temporary resting time, as at the peace of Amiens. If there should appear to be a prospect of stirring up another war on the continent, she would again go to war; or so soon as the French should have built a navy equal in number to her own, that moment or before it war would be again renewed; and we should experience in a more tense tyranny the encrease of those oppressions for which he has established the precedents within a few years. The orders of Council and the proclamations of 1807 and 1808 would like the rule of 1756 be preached up — as the established law of nations; and

the leisure of a temporary peace would have quieted down those resentments which now prevail against her tyranny as those which prevailed in the revolution were extinguished by the strange revolution produced by the British Treaty.

It is a very common opinion, that if all the nations of Europe were decidedly against England, she would be induced to make peace with us. Those who conceive such ideas may perhaps know the English policy better than I do; but as I can form no judgment but by my own study and observation, by a residence of several years at the theatre of which they act; by a personal acquaintance with many of the most distinguished men of the age in that country; and by habits and pursuits well adapted to investigate as well as to acquire a knowledge of their policy.

If the whole of the nations of Europe should, and I am persuaded they must, become hostile to English policy; I am satisfied by reflection that England will not abate her policy towards the U. States, because as she exists by commerce only, and as we are in truth the most formidable rival in the commercial world; it would be her interest to interrupt if she could not destroy our prosperity; her policy would lead her to do that on a large scale which she has done on a small; she has encouraged the conflagration of our growing factories and would conflagrate our cities and towns; she would not suffer our ships to go to the continent without paying a transit or tribute duty, she would [not] suffer our ships to pursue even our accustomed commerce in time of peace: the same policy leads to annihilate our trade altogether; and it is not the want of inclination but of ability that prevents it.

Two all powerful motives impel the U. States to determine now and to satisfy the world of its policy. 1. The national Interests as they concern the body of the nation in their individual situation 2 The national Interests in their relations with civilized nations. We are now called upon to preserve and to maintain both; and if we lose this time we shall never again possess occasions so favourable to our fortunes and to the honor of the nation.

All these objects can be obtained in my opinion without war — by a measure founded on the principles of neutrality as they were asserted in 1780, accompanied by a declaration of Retaliation, which should go to every thing but human life. To exemplify the method in which the government might proceed, I will take the liberty of specifying in a loose way the particular course and the manner that seems to me best to be adopted in prosecuting the measures.

The outrage on the Chesapeake is in every respect marked by the atrocity of the design and the perpetration, by the contumelious carrying away several, and hanging of one of the captives; by the unpunished impunity of the authors and perpetrators; and by the repeated insults & refusals of justice which have followed it.

A law of Congress might authorise reprisals, either in that special case, or which would be more decisive in all cases ; the seizure of man for man, British subjects for American citizens, and the detention of the persons seized as hostages for the security and safe return of the persons taken unlawfully from on board any American ship. The principle to be extended to ships ; ship for ship, dollar for dollar ; and in failure of ships or merchandize, the retaliating principle to be extended to every other species of British property ; dollar for dollar, together with expenses.

The law of Congress recognizing these principles might be issued with a public Declaration of the intentions of the United States, to be issued by the Executive ; wherein the injuries sustained might be set forth, and the long forbearance exhibited ; that even now the Gov^t of the U[·]States deprecates war & the destruction of the lives of the unoffending citizens of any country for the offences committed by their rulers ; that after repeated efforts had failed to obtain the restoration of the citizens of the U States without any other effect than a renewal of insult ; the Gov^t was now disposed to take another recourse to avoid if possible the greater calamities of war, by taking as hostages wherever found British subjects in number equal to the number of persons taken from on board the Chesapeake, to the number killed and to the number maimed ; and that those hostages should be detained and put to employments suited to their capacities, and the surplus of whatever they might by their industry acquire to be applied to the support of the injured or the survivors of those who were killed, maimed or taken away from on board the Chesapeake, until such time as the British government should restore those now in their custody and remunerate as might be agreed upon the survivors of the murdered and injured.

The proceeding in the initiatory process of such a course of measures point themselves out ; and I only offer my conceptions because I do not wish to leave the subject incomplete. The minister of the U. S. might make a formal demand of the persons at the court of London, and signify the indisposition of the U. S. to resort to an ancient usage, that of taking hostages ; or this might follow the first requisition ; he might in the course of the correspondence signify that the United States would in future take hostages and make levies on property to the full amount of all illegal captures or detentions made by our nation ; and might still strongly and strenuously argue upon the humanity of such a course in preference to the shedding of the blood of the unoffending.

I persuade myself that this recourse would have all the important effects which I set out with assuming as necessary ; and other effects equally important. The people of the U. S. would have reason to be proud of another step in national policy towards the avoidance and abolition of war ; they would see in the act of taking hostages for the

restoration of the captives, a regard to their own security in future; (a regard too little attended to hitherto either in the eye of policy or humanity); they would find the government humane and yet just; faithful to itself and yet more generous than other nations in sparing the blood of the innocent; with regard to foreign nations, it would make every people our friends, because the people of every country are the sufferers and the governors alone are those who do not suffer, our example would then be the touchstone of respect, and esteem would even take place of hostility in the bosom of the very nation that injured us; while the hostages we should secure would assure us negotiators in the very bosom of the hostile nation whose cries would be respected where our complaints of wrong have only provoked derision; and become the jest of profligate ministers and the topics of their midnight debauchés.

There is one more point of view in which this project of retaliation on hostages may be taken. It may be said that it would produce an immediate declaration of war on the part of Great Britain. This would perhaps depend in the first instance on the mode in which the subject should be promulged; or on incidents over which we have no control. I am of opinion that she will yet make war upon us; and I am persuaded as well from the choice of their last Ambassador as well as from the correspondence of his style here with his style in Denmark, that he was intended as the touchstone by which the measure of our patience was to be tried before actual war was resorted to. In this last case then war would not be the effect of our measure of benevolent policy, but of their intolerable envy and monopoly.

It would then remain to be enquired whether upon their making actual war, that is making war without landing an army or invading our territory, the policy of retaliation and hostages would not still be a judicious one so long as they should refrain from outrage on our territory. Making war upon our ships at sea, our ships might be authorised to arm for defence; and a declaration to this effect might be published.

Among the good effects of the retaliation by hostages, the country would soon be cleared of many detestable characters that are now lurking about our cities. Others whose disaffection contributes to sustain that hostility to the government so visible in our cities would be repressed by public opinion or by a sense of danger. The nation once roused by a measure so humane and yet decisive would not suffer the calumny that has been poured forth with impunity.

But the most important consideration in my view is the great probability that it would produce a great effect, upon public sentiment in England and compel the administration to restore all our impressed Citizens and to refrain from their capture in future. Should any declaration be issued in such an event, it seems to me that it would be wise to establish the principle as a permanent one, that of taking

hostages and sequestering property in retaliation and declaring that such would be the policy of the U. S. at all times in preference to war.

Such Sir are the ideas that present themselves to me, thrown together without reperusal or taking a copy, which my avocations do not admit me the leisure to do. I submit it to your liberality, and offer it as a testimony of my zeal and good intentions, whatever may be the degree of regard to which it is entitled.

I am Sir your obed Ser

W^m DUANE

JAMES MADISON Esq. Pres^t of the U. States

To Madison.

PHIL^a 5 Decr 1809

SIR, — I have revolved for some time in my mind the ideas which in a crude form I have taken the liberty of addressing to you. I presume not to set any higher value on them than liberal intentions and an enthusiastic devotion to the principles and durability of Republican Government may give them. I neither look for an answer nor do I wish for any thing more than the gratification of endeavoring to promote what is honorable and glorious to my country.

If this should be acceptable or not intrusive on your time, I should take the liberty of addressing to you my ideas on the institution of a national Bank, the basis of which should be public lands, shares representing acres to a certain amount; the acres to be taken at a limited period by the holder and the stock to go to the public; or the holder of stock to have his option of Cash for the share in Bank; and the land to become either the object of purchase at the rate of lands at the moment, or to become the representative of new shares; the objects of the plan, would be — 1 To unite all the Eastern Bank holders by the tie of property in Southern lands; to make the reduction of Interest to 5 per Cent a part of the establishment, and by combining the shares in Bank with property in land to cut off the pestilential influence which foreign stock and bank jobbers have on all our national concerns. In fact I have suggested the outline already; to a mind like Mr. Gallatin's such a plan would at once present itself in a manner that would give it form and efficacy, and I persuade myself that the useful objects which I have suggested would naturally grow out of it — Objects which I need not describe the vast importance of. I wish however not to be known as suggesting the subject, because such a matter should stand upon its own foundations without prejudice or partiality to its author — circumstances which too often interfere with human interests & happiness.

Excuse this trouble and permit me to subscribe myself your friend & respectful hunb S^t

W^m DUANE

To Madison.

PHIL^A Dec^r 8, 1809

SIR, — I took the liberty of placing before you some few ideas on the subject of an application of the principle of a security in land for an investment of cash in Bank Stock at a reduced interest. It has since occurred to me, that as the impost may probably fall short of the sum requisite for exigency, that a resort to an investiture of land to cover a public loan would not only enable the administration to raise an *immense sum*, but to defeat at a stroke the clamour which the enemies of the government would not fail to raise in the event of any necessity for a money loan.

It appears to me that the occasion should now be used to raise a very large sum in that way, so that if the nation should be involved in war there may be a provision for its calls in advance; for I very much fear there has not been as full a consideration of the necessary amount [of] expenditures as would seem to be necessary among the members of that part of the government who hold the purse; and that the want of a due knowledge of what ought to be done would cripple the executive to a degree more pernicious than the efforts of an enemy.

My conception of the method of raising a supply I shall take the liberty of stating, merely to explain what I suggest, & not presuming to decide upon its being very excellent much less infallible, but barely giving it as a suggestion which in abler hands may be made something of.

I would raise a sum equal to three or four years of the usual revenue of the United States. This besides being provident in fact, would be a valuable measure on the surface of affairs, indicating the determination to be prepared in earnest for defence.

For every million of dollars to be raised, I would suggest the appropriation of half a million of acres of public lands; the lands to be surveyed in the course of the year ensuing and in ranges after the plan of the Ohio Military lands. The tracts surveyed should be in more than *ten* or 20000 acres in any section or territory; or each of these tracts should be at least 50 miles apart; and there might be some limit to the right of purchase for any one person of more than a certain number of acres.

It would not be difficult, from an investigation of the sales of public lands for some years past, and other means, to ascertain the progressive rise in various lands before and after survey and sale.

The loan upon lands might be made in such a way as — first to obtain the money at a very low interest.

Secondly — that an option to retain the lands or receive a [blank] per cent stock at the end of six years, or one year after a war; redeemable in [blank] years.

Thirdly the loan when raised to be placed in public funds, so as that what should be over the public demand might be made productive in either reducing part of the old public debt; or in constructing some great roads or canals to facilitate intercourse and promote public prosperity.

As the ideas of the principle are all that are necessary, details being superfluous if the principles are not practicable, I think it unnecessary to intrude further upon your time.

I do not look for any answer, if the thoughts are of any use that is all I look for—if not, I am not willing to trespass on you for the mere ceremony of a note when I know the paper must reach you. I am, Sir, with respect

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

To Dearborn.

PHILA. Jan. 21. 1810

DEAR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND, — I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 13th instant this day only. You surprize me very much by informing me that the little controversy in the Essex Register has proceeded from your son; you know the zeal that I have pursued military studies with, and the apprehensions which I feel lest we should be lulled into a fatal confidence. The world is not now as it was in 1775. The British had not been military men since the days of Marlborough, with him and Lord Peterborough the British saw the last of their generals; for Wolf and the Marquis of Granby, derived their reputation from causes not at all arising out of personal talent. Our system before Steuben's introduction of the modified Prussian was bad; and yet perhaps you may remember that there were great clamours and some resignations upon the introduction of Steuben; the British General Williamson endeavoured to establish a good discipline in the British army, but the courtiers were jealous of him, and Gen. Sir William Howe who followed Williamson, was only an imitator, without the genius of Williamson whose principles were sound and correspond very much with modern tactics; but they were never adopted through envy and jealousy of the man who had talents. The revolution found us and the British found themselves in this discord on a subject which above all others requires simplicity and unity of principles; every British regiment was differently organized, and when any two met, they were incapable of being exercised together; they did not understand each others words of command or mode of evolution. Wolf, Bland, Haldimand, all had different systems, and every colonel had one different from them; this gave the raw troops of Massachusetts a great

advantage; and a want of a correct discipline in the British was as much in our favor as any other circumstance.

The example of Prussia in the seven years war, and of France in the present day, demonstrates the force and importance of discipline; and the disadvantage and misfortune of a want of it; my efforts for several years have been directed to dissipate erroneous ideas and establish correct opinions on those subjects; but I find a mass of *prejudice* as well as some *jealousy*; I content myself in combatting the prejudices because jealousy is rather a compliment.

When the article appeared in the Essex Register, I thought it was a good occasion to draw public attention particularly in Massachusetts to correct ideas, and I wished for nothing more than the controversy should be kept up amicably, in order to exemplify what is the fact, that the modern discipline is much more simple in its principles, and more agreeable and interesting to those who once get into the spirit of it than the old; it is easier learned, easier taught, and easier practised; and I was anxious that where the materials are so good, and the disposition to do right so evident, it would be useful to address their minds in bold expressions conveying strict and indisputable truth, but yet so as to awaken both pride and reflection. This I hope will produce a spirit of enquiry, and where that takes place the approach to truth is certain. I hope nothing that I have said has given your worthy son pain or disquiet, nothing could be more remote from my wishes. If he looks at my purpose and the effects which I wished to produce he will excuse me now, and perhaps reflect with pleasure on the incident that may have awakened his mind to enquiry: Offer him my respected friend, my most affectionate wishes and if he is disposed to open a private correspondence and put any questions to me, if I can answer I will; if I cannot with confidence I will certainly tell him so.

I have written so much to you at once that I must tire you. I cannot therefore talk to you of politicks or anything else, but shall write you again in a few days.

Give my most respectful and affectionate wishes to Mrs. Dearborne, and be so good as to mention me to Mr. & Mrs. Wingate when you write them next.

Ever affectionately yours

W^m DUANE

To Madison.

PHIL^A April 16, 1810

SIR, — My Son W^m J. Duane will have the honor to present you this note, going to Washington on a matter of business his own wishes and my desire would not suffer me to scruple taking this liberty of making him known to you.

He goes to Washington with the View of prosecuting an undertaking which I formerly contemplated, the publication of an edition of the laws of the U. S. upon a plan which I had the honor, once personally and once by letter, to present to your attention. Any support which the undertaking may be entitled to, which you may consider yourself fairly authorised to bestow is all he seeks, and which given to him will be most grateful to, Sir,

Your most obed and respectful Ser^t

W^m DUANE

JAMES MADISON Esq^r Presd^t of U States

To Dearborn.

PHILA. July 3, 1810

MY DEAR SIR, — I have this moment received yours of the 29th June, for the frankness, kindness, and confidence which it displays, I should be very cold of heart if I were not sensible. You do justice to my intentions and wishes, and altho' I do not agree with you as to the particular man of Pennsylvania whose conduct I consider as a primary cause of our present difficulties, I differ from you on nothing else. In my humble sphere as long as I have been capable of thinking I have decided for myself independent of all human control; and it is necessary for me to state and to shew this to you because you appear to think that my sentiments concerning Mr. Gallatin are produced either by the influence of Mr. Smith, or that Dr. Leib by some supposed association with the Smiths influences me.

Impressions of this kind have been urged to me from other quarters and either there must have been a very uncommon concurrence in a mistake, or the impression has been made from one point upon many.

You know very well how very different my real character is from that artificial character which the enmity of the federalists have set up for me, and put off as mine. Let me assure you that in the present instance I am as much misrepresented. From the Baltimore gentlemen, I never received any favors, whatever there has been between them and me has partaken more of injury to me (as far as it could go) than favor. I have never corresponded with either of them; and if it so happens that they think as I think on public affairs, a circumstance of which I am no otherwise informed than by general rumor, and upon which I was not satisfied till I received yours; for in fact I never had the good fortune to be favored with any communications from the Seat of Government, and have therefore been obliged at all times to depend on the resources of my own experience and judgment; very fortunately these resources have seldom failed me, and by pursuing the two simple rules of *common sense* and *plain truth*, I have been able to discharge

my little ministry of the press with as much cause for self gratification as any of my cotemporaries. With the Baltimore gentlemen therefore I have neither intimacy nor correspondence, I seek none with them, and if I am not very much deceived they respect more than they love me. I shall never be on any other terms with them. So much for that point. On the other point, that of Dr. Leib; he and I have agreed and disagreed in politics now fourteen years without the one having ever changed the opinions of the other; we have concurred in fundamental principles, and in pursuit of measures of policy we have seldom differed; but we have seriously differed about men, *many times*, & act as distinctly upon each his own judgment as any two men of opposite politics. We have been linked together by those who could not bring either to be the instrument in destroying the other. Mr. Gallatin is one of those who made the formal overture to me at his own office in Washington to abandon Leib, or I should be destroyed politically myself; he is not the only one who made similar propositions. But the impression made upon my mind was not that of personal danger to myself but the infamy of the proposers. I never made Leib acquainted with the fact, tho' I stated it to Mr. Clay & to my Son; but the very overture strengthened my esteem for Leib, because seeing his policy and principles naked at all times, I could not conceive how any man with honest views could imagine so foul a purpose, or imagine me capable of being a vile instrument in it. I am as independent of Leib, and no man knows it better than himself, as I am of the Smiths or of Gallatin, and I shall always remain so. As to his becoming a favorite with either I suspect not without grounds that you are not well informed; I know Leib's opinions on the views and conduct of the parties generally and individually; I know what their deportment was towards Dr. Leib when he was in Congress, and it can scarcely be supposed that he can forget it. He has dined once or twice with one of them, but this as a *Senator* could not involve any partiality; it was to Dr. L. no doubt acceptable that those who privately calumniated him six years ago should thus expiate their injustice by publicly caressing him. If they were sincere before, they must be inconsistent now, if they were hypocrites before they cannot be sincere now. Leib is not a man of dull capacity, he sees and decides as soon as any man I know.

You see my dear Sir that I return your frankness in kind by shewing you the real state of my own mind and that of Dr. Leib.

As to the circumstances which govern my publications in which Mr. Gallatin comes under notice, the publications themselves explain by the facts the motives which actuate me; it is not liking nor dislike; if personal considerations could at any time govern my political discussions I have nothing of the kind to bias me in relation to the one or the other. Superior motives actuate me, and whether the malice of

party or the malignity of those who deem me above seduction, such as John Randolph, depreciate or condemn my principles of action, I feel in my heart the healthy consolation of an upright pursuit of what my conscience and steadfast judgment determines to be for the best interests of my country. If personal motives or a sense of personal injury could prevail over my principles of conduct, your successor in the War Department has put me to the test. But I know myself to be superior to every species of meanness.

My opinion deliberately made up is, that Mr. Gallatin has been a principal operator of our present unhappy situation. I believe him not only to be a dangerous politician but unfaithful to his public trust. This is my honest opinion, and I appeal to the single fact of his revealing to John Randolph the confidential subjects of discussion between President Jefferson and his ministers is not enough of itself to cut up all confidence in the man for ever. I know the particulars of that subject in the most direct way, and am therefore not liable to be imposed upon by external impressions; I know that we might now have Florida were it not for him; and I have some reason to think that it was land speculation not a respect for the appropriation section of the Constitution which actuated him.

If any thing more were wanting, look to the correspondence of Mr. Erskine laid before the British parliament, look at his scandalous conduct there, are you aware that he said to Mr. Erskine that he Mr. G. *had been years employed in efforts to wean Mr. Jefferson from his French attachments*; this has not been published to be sure but look at John Randolph's speeches, see Mr. Gallatin in constant secret intimacy with him; see Macon as the dupe and the link that connects Gallatin and Randolph, see the Bills called Macon's No. 1 & 2. Mr. Findley, who overcame his former enmities sufficiently to write me, assured me that "*Mr. Gallatin had the best motives in drafting those Bills!*" & "*that it was not to be inferred that he approved of them because he drafted them.*" Why sir this is the consummation of political fraud; the utmost pains were taken to disseminate an opinion that Mr. Madison was the author of those Bills, and I know the men to whom he held two different opinions personally on the subject. Honesty, my dear sir, is the best of policy; and a dishonest politician cannot be an honest man.

I am opposed for the same reasons to every idea of playing off one minister against another. I would do in such a case as I would do with a domestic, fidelity to trust and pursuit of my best interests and wishes would be my criterions of confidence; if one of two deviated from these obligations I would dismiss him; I do not admire the principle upon which Stanley Griswold was dismissed in Michigan, any more than the sacrifice of Wilkinson to appease the friends of a traitor, a government cannot endure which suffers such practices to supercede moral and

political justice. If I would adopt any intermediate expedient, it would be to *dismiss both* ; for such is the unhappy frailty of human nature, that unless there is some decided mind to check the collisions of two men everything must go to disorder ; such as Mr. Gallatin inflated by the reputation which he has obtained (and it is many degrees above his natural mark !) and by the vast landed wealth which his situation has enabled him to amass ; and Mr. Smith vain by habit and by the weighty influence which his connexions and wealth give him, I say it will be impossible that the measures of policy devised by the President, if they were the most wise that wisdom could suggest, can escape collision between such conflicting passions. Washington has in fact become a theatre of intrigue ; it resembles the frippery and frivolity of a monarchical court rather than the capital of a republic ; and what is very extraordinary, that man who like Sixtus V. before he was a cardinal and after he was a cardinal assumed a simplicity and modesty and disinterestedness both in the sleekness of his tonsure and the homely texture of his garments ; whose table rivalled the primitive pastors of the church in scanty viands ; and whose threshold was never trodden by the foot of revelry or satiety ; — marvellous it is, Mr. Gallatin is a courtier, acts the *petit maitre* with as much *vivace* as if he had meant to enter into a competition with the Secretary of State. A droll fellow who drove the stage coach from Washington towards Baltimore uttered an anecdote one night which as it serves to illustrate the alteration I shall note tho' it is perhaps a little too severe and illnatured, tho' certainly characteristic ; a traveller sitting along side me, asked the driver "*who lives in that house?*" — "*Lives!*" said the driver, "*Lives! why nobody lives there,*" "*There's light in the house*" said the traveller — "*O yes, the Secretary of the treasury and his family breathe there,*" said the Driver. This no doubt is *caricature* ; but caricature is often *very like* the original. The Driver could not now make so good a joke, for not only the Secretary *lives* but he feasts sumptuously every day, and what is more invites large companies to dine with him. I do not except to a man for living well, the quantity or quality of his food is nothing to me more than the form of his nose or his chin. I only notice these particulars, as illustrative of the state of things. Your good lady, to whom tender my most respectful and affectionate wishes, will I am sure agree with me that a change so extraordinary cannot be merely accidental and without motive.

I could say a great deal more on these subjects ; but I apprehend I have already tired you. I have, however, done justice to your confidence and to my own motives.

In fine, my dear Sir, I shall maintain as I have done all along my personal independence in public discussions. My own opinion is that the Republican party must go to destruction if Mr. Gallatin continues,

and that Mr. Madison will be thrown out at the next election; this I do not consider of so much moment on Mr. Madison's account or on that of the Public interests and the principles of the Government. When you first came to Washington those gentlemen belonged to a *little cabal*, which aimed to influence all public affairs in their own favor. I have had the proffered friendship and the subsequent enmity of them all in succession; this party had a sort of beginning when you were first in Congress in this city, I believe in 1796. It was composed of an interest in four States — N. York, Penna. Maryland and Virginia. Ed. Livingston & A. Burr were the Yorkers — Gallatin and Dallas were the Pennsylvanians. The Smiths of Maryland and the Nicholases of Virginia.

This little cabal has been curiously *consorted* — office and power and wealth was the aim of every man of them, I need not tell you how they have succeeded, & how they are now in conflict, I tell you more, *it would not surprize me much to see the fragments reunited* — and some one sacrificed to appease the manes of their pre-existing enmities.

In this State so important a member of the Union, Gallatin acts the part of the *demon* of whom we read in Romances; his influence cannot extend to any thing but mischief, and when I tell you that the Republican Legion is broken up so as to have not more than *three companies* in fact, and this thro' the agency of that influence, I need not say more; because it marks the character by the tendency of the intrigues. I would not wound you by telling you particular instances in which the best of men and republicans in all times are persecuted through this cabalistical influence. Accept my dear Sir my most grateful & affectionate respects.

WM. DUANE

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHIL^A July 16, 1810

D^R. AND RESPECTED SIR, — A desire to be preserved in your remembrance has often led me to the verge of writing to you, but knowing with what anxiety you retired from political concerns and the disgust you must naturally have felt at the recollection of the baseness you have seen and the unworthiness which prevails too much in all kinds of affairs, I preferred rather to trust to the ordinary incidents of my situation to retain me in your mind than to give you any trouble by direct letter. I need utter no expressions of my affection and attachment to you, it is not to flatter or to seek favor I ever approached you even in power; out of power, my attachment has not abated because you have no favor to bestow; and it is with pain that I now intrude upon your retired life with the enclosed paper, which is taken

¹ Jeff. MSS.

from a pamphlet published on the motion of Earl *Grey* by the house of Lords. There is a letter now in this city from *Cobbet* referring to this correspondence which has made some matter for discourse, and which has led me to seek the pamphlet. I presume it will be generally circulated here, as I understand it has been already *on the continent of Europe*.

What the impression will be on the feelings and interests of the Virtuous part of the nation, it is not difficult to conceive; but what the impression may be on the wicked, or rather the use which they make of it upon the weak, is not so easy to guess. I very much fear the effect of any man's influence, who could be capable of such villainous disregard of your name and reputation, and the sentiment I believe will be very general, whenever it comes before the public.

For myself, the emotions which this letter has excited are not very easily described; if the same feelings operate upon all those who revere you for your virtues and services; what is to become of the administration, and what is of more importance the principles which elevated the administration to trust, and by which alone the country can remain free and happy.

I very much fear that the course of politics indicated by this letter and other transactions of late date, will tend to involve our country in great calamities; which, had your policy been faithfully pursued and maintained, we would have been assured against with all the world at our side. I cannot suffer myself to intrude more upon you, if I were satisfied that my writing to you would [not?] interfere with your wishes to keep aloof from political vexations, I should certainly write you very largely on the subject of public affairs, which I very much fear are now in an unhappy train.

I do not wish to obtain any opinions or answers of any kind for any use, but the gratification of my own feelings towards you and to know that I am not forgotten by you. At a future day I shall take the liberty of assigning to you my motive for relinquishing the honorable station in the army which your confidence and kindness placed me in; I can say that as far as I had authority and command, no man of the same rank performed so much duty nor endeavoured more to serve the public; this I think it fit to say to you, and I believe I have never forfeited my veracity with you. For your confidence and kindness to me be assured of my grateful remembrance, and as ever of the most ardent desire to render myself worthy of your continued Esteem. Ever dearest and respected Sir, your obed^t. Serv^t.

To Jefferson.

PHILA Aug. 17. 1810.

D^r & RESPECTED SIR, — I have had the satisfaction to receive your very kind letter of the 12 instant. It is singular enough that I should

have before me at the moment, a history of England in 4to, which I take to be the same which you mention. Several years ago you mentioned the same book to me, and through Mr. G. Erving then in London I obtained the book before me. Having just completed my Military Dictionary this day, I was turning over in my mind what book to put in hand; and I took this to look at it and give it a perusal in the intervals of my ordinary occupations. The book before me makes exactly 834 pages, and down to 1801. The last paragraph begins thus — "The master of his majesty's hunt prepared, &c.," the 551st page closes with The Bill of Rights and 552 begins Eara IV cap. 1. with William and Mary. I am thus particular, that you may be able to determine whether it is the same work or not; as it is my fixed purpose to print it.

The other work which you are so good as to mention, if sent on, I can have put into hand immediately; there is no difficulty in obtaining good translators here at present, and I will accept it with great satisfaction, and send you the proofs as you propose. I contemplated writing to you frequently, but having heard of your desire to be retired, and it was reported that you even wished to remove to another part of Virginia, I concluded upon denying myself the grateful feelings which writing to or thinking of your generous and unabating friendship always produces rather than be one among the intruders upon your tranquillity. The paper I sent you and the perilous character of the times overcame my scruples. I shall not say anything to you on political affairs, for the same reasons that I have not before written you; and pursuing the same principles and preserving under a more prosperous state of my personal affairs that independence which I maintained when in circumstances heavily embarrassed; I shall with the best capacity and the most steadfast purpose in my humble province do every thing in my power for the good of my country. If I mistake, as on some occasions I have done, it will be only to discover the error and I shall not be too proud nor so dishonest as not to correct it.

You may remember that I once proposed printing your Notes. I hold myself bound by that promise, and am now ready for it. If the Book (Baxter's Hume) be the same that I have got, I shall be able to put it to press very soon; paper must be had in advance, and that requires at least two months preparation.

The work from the French, I would go on with instantly having now only an Edition of *Lind on Warm Climates*, at press, to fill up the intervals of my Military Dictionary, which last being finished leaves me at liberty to go on with another. You have seen I make no doubt David Williams Lectures upon *Montesquieu*, from whom indeed I first learned to think of Montesquieu, as your commentator seems to think.

There is another circumstance upon which I meant to write you on

some day. It was mentioned to me, that on your passage through this city several years ago, Dr. Franklin put into your hands a manuscript, intreating you to keep it, and as the fittest person to trust it to; that you returned it, and it was put into your hands again; but that on the death of that great man, you conceived yourself bound to put the manuscript in the hands of Mr. Temple Franklin as his grandfather's Legatee; and thus it is lost to the world, unless a copy of it was preserved by you for posterity; it was suggested to me that this was the case; from what I learn of Mr. T. F's course in Paris, there appears to me no hope of the most valuable part of the Doctor's writings ever appearing; and it would be at least useful, if no copy exists, to be certain that this anecdote is truly stated. I have obtained from the venerable Cha^s. Thomson, the Journals of Dr. F. Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay; but Mr. Adams's late publications show how scanty his officially registered journal was. I was promised some more but although I have kept the Edition back now 18 months, with 4 volumes already printed ready for delivery, under [expectation] of gaining more materials for the biography, I have been disappointed. Perhaps you may possess fragments concerning him, epistolary or otherwise, that at a favorable moment you might oblige me with. I should have paid you my respects personally long since had I not determined to consider your resolutions in preference to my own wishes.

I understood you intimated to some friend that there was antimony some where in your neighborhood, and that Mr. Tho^s. M. Randolph had also mentioned it. Independent of my solicitude to see the art of type founding flourish; I have thought of making a type founder of Benj. F. Bache's second son — who we here call from his remarkable likeness to his Gr father — little Dr. Franklin; the boy has all the acuteness and expansion of mind of the original; I have not been indifferent to keep the spark within him alive to all that is good and I derive unutterable delight to see the little flock mingled with my own rising above adversity and expelling the clouds with which the Aurora was surrounded when we met. The eldest son of Benjamin who has finished with eclat, distinguished above his compeers, the collegiate education which is acquired in our miserable university, is a fine young man and as virtuous as any in the country; he is already as tall as his father, possesses all his sedateness and virtue. I believe him as innocent of every kind of vice as a child of four years old. I am yet undetermined what course to put [him] into, he is at present going through a course of historical reading, in which I have been his pilot, and geographer, and annotator. The other two boys of Benj. are equally promising.

The Pestalozzi system proceeds with effect that will render it *indis- tructible* and get it but once into general use — there is an end to error. Mr. Neef who conducts it seems as if there had been some particular

providence to prepare him for an undertaking so immensely important and requiring so many qualities of head and heart to fit him for it. I have a little fellow of 5½ years old with him, who already confounds me. I apprehend that very little is known of this inappreciable system and man. His book certainly gives a faithful outline; but it is a feeble shade compared with the actual figure. If you could be amused with any account of it from me, it will afford me delight to give you some account of it *as I see it*, but I do not wish to trouble you with it, nor would I take the trouble unless I was sure it would be gratifying to you.

Do me the favor to assure Mr. & Mrs. M. Randolph of my most sincere respects.

I am Dr Sir ever affecty yours.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA Oct. 29th 1810.

RESPECTED SIR,—I have just received the returned parcel of Manuscript. My motive for sending now the translation in the 'first instance was that you might judge and if you had leisure correct to your mind. My intention is to send you on the manuscript as fast as translated and I can transcribe it; I am not perfectly satisfied myself with the manner of the translation; it is very difficult unless to a person equally conversant in both languages; there are some passages very difficult. I fear that on this account it will be to you more troublesome than I could wish it to be; the translation is generally too dry and frigid for the original; and the whys and wherefores and moreover are too frequent for the English idiom. The work the more I peruse [it] the more I am gratified and impressed with its importance, and feel a solicitude to see it before the public. The journeymen printers having what they call *struck for wages*, I have no book printing now going on, nor can I have until they return, or I teach boys the lighter parts of the printing art; I mention this in order to shew that it is not through affectation or false delicacy I mention, that should it be suitable to you to pass over the whole, that I shall continue to send it as fast as I can transcribe it.

I sent you along with the packet David Williams lectures on Montesquieu, they are not equal to the ideas and lucid illustrations, nor to the genius that marks the *Review* of Montesquieu; but they were bold in England; I have a duplicate of it, and intend the copy sent as a small mark of my wish to contribute even in the slightest degree to your rational gratification. I have a copy of his pamphlet on liberty also, which tho' good in its day, and very good in a few pages, is not worth troubling you with.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

We have a number of persons lately arrived from different parts of the British dominions here, whose accounts exhibit pictures not merely deplorable but horrible — the crisis of that Government is certainly at hand, and it must be for the benefit of mankind.

Some of the Russian under agents here appear in discourse very remarkably attached to G. B. and his policy, I refer to one particularly and that is Mr. Politika, a young man who really imagines he knows every thing in and about this country as well as if he had spent his life here. I only mention this fact, because from a correspondence you were once so good as to mention, I infer it may be kept up, and it may not be amiss to understand from a sure source the dispositions of agents. The conduct of Dashkoff appears uncommonly discreet and sensible. I know them both. Politika's temper I discovered in a conversation on *Walsh's* pamphlet, which requires to be answered.

I am D^r Sir with affection and respect.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHIL^a Jan. 25, 1811

D^R AND RESPECTED SIR, — I have just received yours of the 18th and the copy accompanying it. You will be good enough never to attribute my not writing immediately to want of respect or to indifference. My avocations are so many and the pressure of them so constant, that it requires some dexterity to get thro' them. I shall now explain the hastiness of the last sheets. You will perceive they are all transcribed by myself. The person who began has translated the whole, but it was not well done tho' he is capable. I am not perfectly competent to translate it myself, tho' I can very well judge both of the French and English whether it is well done. I therefore made the work a practical essay for myself, as well to enjoy the gratification it afforded me as to make my knowledge of the French better, and thus I have not merely *transcribed*, but I have as it were *made the version* throughout. Thus much will explain why I did not send the French original, and why I shall with your leave keep it to refer to, till the work is printed, which will be now very soon. It will be necessary, and since you approve of the manner, I shall be able with more confidence to remedy the defects of the latter part, of which I was conscious, but being anxious to hurry the *whole* on to you, and having no assistant of any kind to write or aid me in my paper at this critical time, and the foreman in the Aurora office who by knowing my mind was able to decypher all I wrote however hurried, and besides saved me the reading of proofs, of which I feel the labor as much as the celebrated *Bayle*, I have hurried the whole on depending too much on the translator, or rather not having time sufficient to chasten and arrange the language.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

I bespoke 5 months since from Binny and Ronaldson a fount of types to print the work elegantly — they have not yet put them in. These men are among the instances of fortunes caprices, they have acquired fortune by industry, and it has ruined them as *men*. I never knew men more estimable for simplicity and probity — they are now the reverse. I have applied to Mr. Carr, the best printer in this city, to undertake the printing for me of this work, for I was fool enough to empty all my half worn types into a heap and send them to B. & Ronaldson when type metal was scarce, and now I have no type of the size to print it upon — so that necessity on one hand and a desire to push the work out soon, has induced me to do this; I have not had his answer yet; but I shall if he cannot get it done by some one else.

I am thus prolix in order that nothing may be unexplained.

I shall go through the copy as it goes to the printer with the original in my hands and shall correct before I deliver it — and shall take care of the latter sheets.

I have published one of the Chapters on money which has excited attention, tho' it was from a very indifferent translation.

I have not been successful in my enquiries for the letter of Helvetius, or the Work of the Abbé de la Rochon, nor unless there should be some of the literary Frenchmen in N. York do I expect to succeed.

Poor Warden is gone on to Washington in great tribulation — the intriguing there is afflicting to hear of. I sometimes begin to despair of the republic when I see so much villainy successful and so much virtue repressed and put down.

J. Randolph is at his old freaks. He took his seat the 22, and introduced two pointers with him, which set up a barking when the members rose to speak. *No one dared to turn* the dogs out. The house adjourned; poor Willis Alston going out the dogs got between his legs, and had nearly thrown him down; he struck the dogs, and John Randolph who had a hickory stick beat Alston several times over the head and shoulders. Alston rushed upon him and some blows took place — but the members separated them.

I do not like to trouble you with politics, but I cannot resist guarding you against impressions concerning me. Mr. G. W. Erving passing thro' here told me that it was believed in Washington that some of your nearest friends were persuaded that I had entered into some arrangements with Gen. Armstrong to promote him to the Presidency. You have seen and known me in times of peril and how little influence personal or pecuniary considerations have had on me; I have not the same confidence because I was neither as well known nor had the same opportunities of being known as when you were at Washington. I think it fit to say to you whose esteem I covet and value more than any other that I ever possessed — that there is no foundation for such an

idea. I have no personal views, and should the Bank be chartered, I may close my business here. I mean in that event to dispose of the Aurora to any capable person who will purchase it of the same principles, and abandon a situation which is productive of many enmities, few friendships, and no adequate rewards; while I continue in the station no man on earth could induce me to say or do what I think wrong, and I know no rule of action but that which to the best of my judgment conduces to the liberty, independence, and honor of my country. If I ever take a wrong step it will not be with consciousness that I do so, and few men in so trying a situation could steer thro' so difficult a station with so few blunders, and those few of so little moment. You will see, my dear good sir, my motives in expressing my feelings to you concerning myself. Ever affectionately and faithfully yours.

That man Granger, disappointed of being nominated as a Judge — and he is better adapted for the ulterior office of Executive Justice — menaces to blow up the administration of Mr. Madison, and he has some of his schemes now in motion for that effect. I have no correspondence with any member of administration — not even Rodney — but you know I would not say this *without foundation*.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA March 15, 1811.

RESPECTED SIR, — I have just received the last packet of the Manuscript, but it appears as if I was doomed to be the sport and the victim of my faithful adherence to those principles which that work so admirably illustrates. I should not invade your merited repose and happiness, with any complaints of mine, were it not necessary to account to you for the suspension of the work even after it had been begun. I have passed thro' the most laborious and intense application that I have experienced in any period of my [life], having literally devoted myself to what I conceived the sacred interests and rights of my country. The printers all refusing to work, my foreman laid up since November with a debilitating rheumatism, and with none but raw boys to *compose* and *print* a paper containing more matter and more manuscript matter than any paper in the country — and not only to write all, unassisted by a single individual, but to go through the drudgery of proofreading. My labor was rewarded by the cessation of the Bank and by a consciousness that my humble efforts had contributed something to that effect.

I was looking forward to an active spring and summer, to the completion of the life of Franklin, which I flattered myself would do me no discredit, and be not unworthy of the subject. But I had offended by

¹ Jeff. MSS.

the sincerity and the severity of my animadversions upon the conduct of Mr. John Randolph, and I am brought to the verge of a precipice, from which it is not possible to say whether I shall escape being dashed to pieces. I have formerly mentioned to you the cruel consequences which ensued from my making the establishment at Washington, and the cruel persecution set on foot by J. G. Jackson and Mat. Lyon, which left me with an establishment that cost 22000 \$ all a debt incurred and unpaid, when at the moment that promised to be profitable, the cruel infidelity of the Republicans to a faithful centinel left it next to useless, and compelled me to abandon it to another for a sum not one third of what it cost me.

As my Credit was derived from Banks, I was obliged to have indorsers, and I have during these ten years been in the situation of a man who in a small company saw himself exposed to the volleys of a numerous enemy, and the little band either sinking one by one into the slumber of death or flying into the arms of the enemy and turning their weapons upon me, until at length I find myself without ever once abandoning a principle or betraying any confidence ever reposed in me, standing almost alone.

The friendship which subsisted between Mr. Joseph Clay and myself you cannot have been at least a stranger to. The sentiments entertained by Mr. Thomas Leiper, you well know concerning me. I am the same in every respect, but they are no longer my friends — in short they menace me at this moment with ruin.

When Mr. Clay could not obtain credit for 100 dollars at any Bank here, my credit and name obtained for him from five to eight thousand dollars. Since his father's death he has released me from this share of burden, but he had as men fell off from the republican ranks stepped into their shoes until he became my endorser for 5000 \$, part of the debt incurred at Washington and for which I have been paying interest ever since. Mr. Leiper in the same way became my indorser for 3000 \$.

The various attempts of the U. S. Bank to ruin me have all failed as I took care never to have any account with them. From the other banks I could have had and was invited to take but did not take 10,000 \$ more than I had ever required. The following events have taken place within four days.

I applied for about 1000 \$ out of about 15000 that had been due to me at the Treasury Comptroller's department for some years. The Comptroller was prepared to pay, but the Secretary of the Treasury made application at all the other offices to know if I had any unsettled accounts. Simmons the War office accountant reported that I had an unsettled account, but I never had any account with him nor in his branch of public duty. I had raised a number of recruits here for which I drew 1700 \$ and expended 1676 \$ for which I furnished the vouchers — leaving on that

account a balance of 24 \$. But long before that I had caused 100 \$ to be deposited with the Paymaster Mr Brent, who reported to the Controller that there was not any likelihood of my owing any thing; In fact I left two months pay undrawn, and I never presented a contingent account, so that instead of my owing there will be due to me about 400 \$ from the War Department. This 1000 \$ which I required was to meet an engagement here.

The next day after advice of this Mr. Leiper notified me that he would no longer lend me his name.

The same day Mr. Joseph Clay wrote a letter to my bookkeeper of which the following is an exact copy.

(copy)

SIR The causes of my refusal are the groundless and unwarrantable attacks in the *Aurora* on *my friends*; particularly on Mr. Randolph. I never will lend the support of my name to such conduct. If Mr. Duane chooses to continue it, he must look to others for relief. Mr. Duane is at perfect liberty to pursue that course of political conduct which to him may seem correct; but the abuse of men whom I esteem cannot be either a necessary or justifiable means of convincing the public of the wisdom of any measures of which he may become the advocate. I am, Sir, your obed Ser^t.

(Signed) JOSEPH CLAY

March 13. 1811.

Of the letter I need say nothing, but the effect of this combined denial of my property at the treasury, this odious persecution of Mr. Leiper and Mr. Clay, leave me unable to raise 9000 \$, for their conduct is no secret and Mr. Leiper has avowed his purpose *to put down the Aurora!*

This history is prolix, but I know no one to whom I can relate it so properly as yourself, who know my principles and my public conduct; this is the more barbarous on the part of Mr. Clay inasmuch as he was one of my predecessor's trustees and guardians of those children whom instead of the public I have honorably and affectionately reared; they must suffer the same fate with me, because Mr. Dallas has given it as his opinion that the children of Ben. F. Bache cannot inherit any part of Dr. Franklin's estate! His daughter having married one of the brothers of my predecessor!

I am aware that this narrative will give you some pain, but my dear Sir, to whom must I pour out my feelings if not to you whom those that are faithful to the republic love and with whose esteem I have been so particularly favored.

I have advertised my property in books for sale, but I cannot owing to the presence of foreign commercial affairs upon the community not

been able to make any sale tho' I offered books to the value of ten thousand dollars for 5000 cash, or even for endorsements for nine or 12 months, by which time I should be able to repay the whole with interest. The four volumes of Franklin's works with plates are all printed and at *two and a half* dollars a volume, these alone are worth 20,000 dollars. I have even offered them at a reduced price engaging or forfeit the whole to have the *Memoirs* written and printed by the 4th of July next.

Here I can look to no one. Is there not in Virginia where I have been so much flattered for my public services public spirit to interpose and save the *Aurora* and its Editor from the fangs of John Randolph's creature. I would not accept a present from any man, I would beg sooner than be the slave of any man's monied present; but I should accept of a loan of 8000 dollars which I should repay with interest in the course of the present year, would save me from the danger that impends, and which I can barely ward off from day to day perhaps for eight or ten days, and even then with difficulty.

The effect on the Republican interest, you must be sensible will not be a little should I be ruined. I have already suffered enough from the instability of public men and their disregard of the services of an incorruptible and inflexible man in support of the vital interests of the nation.

In this situation, respected Sir, it is impossible for me to say when I shall be able to proceed with the commentary on Montesquieu. If free from this I should go on immediately and once free from this dilemma, should never place myself in the power of the caprice of any man again.

I trust that with your usual kindness this will meet indulgence.

With affectionate respect

Yours ever faithfully.

If 80 gentlemen would lend me 100 dollars each, payable in 9, 12, 15 months, it would not only save me, but I should be able to pay it in cash in these periods and get out of Bank altogether. It is to those in whom I have confidence and who have confidence in me that I can venture to make such suggestions. If I were a villain I need have no pecuniary necessity.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA July 5, 1811

SIR, — By the Mail of this day, I forward you a single copy of the Review of Montesquieu. I hope you will find it executed in a style of neatness not discreditable to the work nor to the American press. By printing it on a larger type and a smaller page, it might have been

¹ Jeff. MSS.

made a large volume, but I believe it will be considered as preferable in its present form by those who prefer a book for its contents rather than by weight or measure.

I have ventured to place two short paragraphs from Hobbes and Beccaria, as mottoes to the title page, containing applicable truths, and at least not inconsistent with its spirit; it was done merely to comply with a fashion rather than any other motive.

The price which I have put it to sale at is governed by two considerations, the expense incurred and the expense to be incurred in circulating it. I have printed 750 copies, and must pay 25 per cent out of the price only for circulating it, that being the sum agreed upon with the man I employ to obtain subscribers and deliver works; should this edition sell sufficiently soon, it will determine whether or not it would be advisable to print another edition at a lower price, and that will be known by the demand and the impression which the work makes; it is too soon to form any judgment here, as my political sins of several years prevents the light of my door from being darkened by federal shadows.

I trust you will excuse my not having written in answer to your two letters of 28 March and May 1. They excited in my breast very painful feelings, and as I could not touch the subjects to which they related without expressing my sentiments explicitly and fairly, I judged it preferable to be silent, perfectly satisfied with my own integrity and indifferent to the frowns or favors of mankind thus fortified.

If the book is in the form which you suggested as adapted for sending abroad, I shall send you the ten copies which you were pleased to order; or if there should be any other form of binding or putting together, with thinner covers in the manner of French works, I shall have them executed to your wish, having bookbinders in my own house.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient serv^t.

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILA. July 17, 1812

RESPECTED SIR, — I should have answered your obliging letter of the 20th April, had my mind not been kept in agitation by the pressure which I began to feel heavily in consequence of my opposition to the U. S. Bank, and which, although I have in effect surmounted, has left me like a man after a severe disease, with an unusual degree of debility. I had read your admirable work on the *batture* before I was favored with a copy from yourself, and I have heard it repeatedly spoken of in terms very grateful to my own feelings and honorable to you. I think you have extinguished that unfortunate man, who has caused himself to be extinguished.

¹ Jeff. MSS.

When you wrote, I still hesitated as to the probability of war. I did not know how we could avoid it, but I did not see how we could go into it, from *causes that are too obvious*. I was at the same time perfectly convinced that if we should once get into a war, that altho' we should, from temporary as well as general causes, sustain some disasters and afflictions, that we should be triply benefitted in the result; and that the entire extinction of the poisonous influence of England would alone compensate every loss. The apprehension I entertained was that from the universal consent of all men and all parties, of men in and men out of power, on the incompetency of the head of the War Department, that there would be an indisposition to enter upon a war, with this incompetency existing and present. I spent a fortnight at Washington in April, whither I went to sell my lot and house on Penn^a avenue, which I did to Mr. Gales. During that time I published a small pamphlet of which I send you a copy; the extraordinary effect it produced on men's minds I cannot describe, but it has produced a law correcting almost every thing pointed out as to the organization; and the system of discipline which induced me to notice the subject at all has been since withdrawn and is now undergoing another metamorphose. I certainly dreaded the effect of a war under such incompetent hands as Dr. Eustis, and I dread it still; it is indeed fortunate that there is no formidable land force in our neighborhood nor to be apprehended, tho' I find by this day's mail a fleet of transports with troops has arrived at Quebec (103 Reg^t). You would scarcely credit what I could tell you and what I could point out in the military department — and the extravagant waste that will follow the present confusion and want of system in that department. I have sought to make it known to the Executive through various channels without any visible effect; and I see no probability of any correction but in some fatal disaster when public indignation will force the imbecile man to abandon a station which he ought never to have accepted, and in which more corruption of the principles of the government and discredit and dishonor has been inflicted on the government than in any equal period from the establishment of the Constitution.

It would give you more pain than I should wish to give any one I respect, to go into particular details; or to attempt any anticipation of the consequences. I have determined for myself not to meddle with any public questions, but in a general way, maintaining the rights of the nation, the prosecution of the war, and supporting those principles upon which the republicans came into power in 1798, for tho' I have been sacrificed and in fact persecuted and nearly ruined by those whose promotion was aided by my services and sufferings, yet the principles are to me and will ever be as sacred as my life and honor.

I sent you a copy of my *Infantry Hand Book* by which I meant to

supply what was so much wanted in the country; and I now send you another for *Riflemen*. Such are the works that are wanted throughout the country; they disrobe military subjects of the mystery in which *ignorance* and cunning have involved them. I should publish a hand book for *cavalry* and another for *Artillery* upon the same principles, but my funds do not admit it; and I presume since I have been considered in the opposition, it would not be consistent with affairs of state to give the writings of a suspected *heretic in politics* any countenance in *war*. I feel mortified and humiliated at the conduct I have personally experienced; but I have no personal cause for mortification or humility; but I cannot but perceive that your happy sentiment that "men feel power and forget right" is as applicable to those who received republican suffrages as to those who received federal. But I ought not to trouble you, and yet if I do not say what lies at my heart and which wounds my mind, shall I not be an hypocrite.

I think we may expect a great change in Europe which will materially affect this nation, not perhaps to her injury but by means that do not appear to be as yet contemplated here or elsewhere. I imagine that a change of fortune in the national affairs of England is not very remote. Such a change as I anticipate will cast upon our shores the *riches* and the *wreck* of British intellect, arts, sciences and *manufactures*: that the day is not distant when all that England had to boast of will cease to exist there and be transferred hither. Those who love tranquillity, who have panted for liberty, who have been bowed down by taxation; those who labored without ceasing and slept without reward only to sleep and wake and eat a miserable subsistence, and work and sleep again, that vast class will find their way to America, and transplant with themselves the skill and talents which they possess, and upon which the power of England has existed for two centuries, or at least since the revocation of the Edict of Nantz which produced for England at that period what the madness of England is now preparing for us. We are destined to be the residuary legatees of British literature, science, commerce, navigation and perhaps *power and policy*! How important will it be in the present state of Europe so to regulate American diplomacy, as that the *legacy* which we are destined to receive shall not also *entail* upon us the policy of *perennial wars* and *national hatreds*. Such are the faint outlines of some of my anticipations, which be pleased to receive as they are given with affectionate respect.

To Madison.

JAMES MADISON Esqr

President of the United States.

PHIL^A Aug. 6, 1812.

SIR, — I have been just informed by Mr Carswell that he means to signify by the Morning's Mail, that he cannot accept the office of Com-

missary General. There is no man more honest than M^r Carsewell, and it is the sense which he entertains of the importance of the station which induces him to decline its acceptance. The same idea of its importance induces me to take the liberty of addressing you.

A little attention to the duties which must devolve on the Commissary general during a war will shew that it requires something more than a mere accountant or merchant; during a peace any office may be filled by common qualifications without danger, but it is otherwise in such a crisis as the present — and the more necessary it is to carry on the war with vigor, in order to make it short and decisive, so much more indispensable will it be to have men in such stations as can give vigor to the public arm. A Commissary General should have a knowledge of Military affairs — he should know their habits — their wants and their privations in camp and quarters — the esprit de Corps, or that sympathy which arises out of association — a knowledge of the country not merely on the map, but of its roads and means of communication, its people and peculiar products and resources — a knowledge of arms and equipments of every kind, he should know at sight what is fit, what not; he should know the quality and quantity of ammunition and stores — and his zeal should be always guarded so as to avert the consequences of those momentary disasters from which no war can be exempted — he should be as a second soul to the war department, and serve as a kind of instinct to that department and the army: a very honest man might fill the office, and with only an innocent incapacity, debilitate the army, endanger the public force and ruin himself.

In thus sketching the qualifications of a fit man permit me to suggest, with the most respectful deference, the name of a gentleman who unites with all the qualifications I have described the stern integrity of a private and public character, such a man as the public voice would applaud, the army confide in, and such as would render credit to yourself — I mean the present Superintendent of Military stores, M^r C. Irvine, son of the late General W^m Irvine. He has served in the army is known and esteemed in private and public. His zeal for the public service is every where known, and his probity would be a guarantee to the public and to you, such as is not always to be found in candidates for public office; and I am told that at this moment there is a stir making to press upon you a person of the name of Duncan a broker of this city, a man whose profession as an agent of Usury, is not exactly that which is best adapted for a great trust in critical times.

I shall only add that I have neither seen nor conversed with M^r Irvine on this subject — I consider myself as performing an act of duty to the public, and should I be so fortunate as to have brought into your view the man qualified & he shall be appointed, I shall feel great pride and pleasure in the consciousness that I shall have rendered a public

service to the country, to the army, and to the government of my country

As this note is intruded on you without the knowledge of a second person — I beg leave to say, that whatever may be its fate — it shall remain known only to myself — and I keep no copy.

I am Sir

Your very obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

To Jefferson.

PHIL^a 20. Sep^r 1812

RESPECTED SIR, — I should not have troubled your retirement upon political Subjects had not there been a rumor for some days that you had consented to accept the Station of Sec^{ry} of State in the present Crisis, and that Mr. Monroe was to assume the War Department; I must confess I feared it was too good news to be true, but I cannot refrain from expressing a wish that if you could consistently with your deliberate feelings enter again into the Administration, you would contribute to the other eminent services which you have rendered your country and which appears now not only necessary to the public safety but which would redound to your own eternal honor. The effects of Hull's surrender are not to be imagined — and some great and decided act of the Executive appears to be essential in order to turn the current of public feeling out of the course in which it is running; your accession would contribute to produce such a change and to restore public confidence which is now not merely wavering but in which a great change has already taken place. The activity of the friends of Mr. Clinton is unexampled in this State and in other places, and were it not for the attacks made in their *inebriety* upon General Armstrong, they would have made a deeper impression here, for our Electoral ticket, is not throughout such a one as would on its own worth obtain a vote; and it is the apprehension of the return of federal rule which alone saves M^r Madison's administration from desertion by the great mass of the most intelligent and virtuous part of the republicans.

If you were to accept the office, I should say all I think to you on the subject of public affairs, as far as the Executive administration is concerned; but as you cannot but feel a solicitude about the work to the erection of which you have so largely contributed; I shall only tell you generally what I should go into particular specifications of under different circumstances.

It cannot be doubted after a view of the whole ground, that the means possessed have not been applied with either sagacity, activity, industry or common sense in any branch of the War arrangements; and it is a melancholy truth, that any man disposed to make use of the transactions in the military branch of the government and to compare

it with the most imbecile or extravagant part of Mr Adams's administration, that the picture could be drawn with tenfold hideousness.

Let me add that to this moment the military affairs are in a state of disorder and so destitute of system, that among the troops there is a dismal despondency, not well adapted to assure that decided effect which our arms ought to produce.

A change in that course of public duties appears to me not merely essential to the public safety, but to the security of the policy which is characterized by your name, and to which the great body of the nation is unquestionably attached.

The preparation within a few weeks has no doubt been greater than at any former period, but this I attribute to the interference of Col. Monroe with his aid and zeal in the War Department and the laborious efforts of the Adj^t General Cushing. But it is a solemn truth that the Southern Department, with the exception of Wilkinson's limited command is not yet organized, altho' it is now three months since the declaration of war; and the force on the Northern frontier collects so slowly that there will be scarcely time to establish any discipline, or for the General to know the character of the officers under him before the Canadian fleets will render the access to that country either as easy as would be now practicable, or as it would have been two months ago.

I do not tell you these things *to find fault* — I only state the facts to shew the necessity of providing against the consequences — for no intelligent man can shut his eyes against them, and a despondency is the consequence where despondency is most dangerous, in the breasts of the most disinterested and virtuous men.

The consequences require also to be looked into — the agents of the British are as numerous as ever — they shoulder us in the streets and abuse the government unchecked in our coffee houses — the enemy will be as well informed as we are — and perhaps better — of our situation; and it is proper to anticipate what they are likely to attempt, and to consider how we are prepared to meet their assaults.

Their naval force will enable them to select such points on our coasts as are most exposed or best adapted to injure or distract us — from the *rebellious temper in the East* nothing can be apprehended singly — nothing could be apprehended, even if a British force were landed, if proper means were pursued & a competent head in the War Office to direct the means of repelling the traitors within and their allies from without. Suppose the British transport during the Winter 10000 men to Halifax, and taking 5000 of them on board the ships of War hoist a standard on some part of our Eastern coast — they would call those 5 ten thousand and the credulity of their adherents and of their enemies would readily double their force — These things are practicable, I do not say many would join them but *the effect* is what I wish to guard

against. Are there any steps taken — ought not steps to be taken to guard against such events. On the subject of the South, I shall say nothing. General Wilkinson presented a memoir last April to the War Department on the defence of the South, of which Dr Eustis unhappily is incompetent to appreciate the importance, and it is to be feared that if an attack should be made on the East or on the South, our foresight will be as at Machilimackinac a deplorable improvidence.

I am not accustomed to feel so gloomy as I do on such subjects but I am not alone — I know no feelings but those which lend to the happiness and safety of my country — I have taken the liberty of expressing myself to Mr Monroe with the same freedom on similar subjects — and I know my frankness will meet the usual indulgence with you — but a change in the War Department appears to me indispensable to the public safety and the security of the approaching Election. Ever with love and respect.

Yours

W^m DUANE.

To Madison.

JAMES MADISON Esq

President of the U States

PHIL^a Sep^r 20 1812

SIR, — The enclosed has been accidentally soiled, as it was written at midnight — and I have not it in my power to transcribe it — nor indeed to read it — I beg to be excused — I should prefer its being confined to yourself and Mr Monroe, as I am not so solicitous about any thing concerning it as the important subject to which it refers — and it is to be considered as a private communication — Nor do I look for an answer — the freedom of it you will please to excuse.

I am Sir

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE.

To Madison.

JAMES MADISON Esq^r

President of the U States

PHIL^a Sep^r 20, 1812

SIR, — If I did not believe that the motive which actuates me would justify me even under the possibility of my conceptions being erroneous, and that you would receive the suggestions of an individual who has no other views than the general and common interest I should not venture to address you. The efforts of the humblest individual may at least contribute to the direction of the executive mind towards objects of great public importance; and I address you without reserve under these impressions.

The letter of General Hull goes to vindicate the administration in

every thing that relates to the unhappy events at Detroit, except in the single point of the neglect of Machilimackinac; and altho' this cannot justify the misconduct of the officer, it is a point upon which he may escape every imputation but that of incapacity or cowardice.

I offer this opinion with no other view than to indicate the absolute necessity of being provident on other vulnerable points, and in doing this I must attempt to anticipate by first considering what is possible, the necessity of guarding against what is probable.

The U. States may be assailed at its two extremities, that is at some point of Florida or Louisiana on the South, and at some point between the Long island Sound and the Bay of Casco, or between N. York and Portsmouth in N. Hampshire. The necessary means for the defence of the South I have no doubt have been properly pointed out by the able officer who has charge of N. Orleans; if the government have provided the means requisite there, and in such hands there is no doubt of their being well managed, it will be unnecessary to touch a point so much better occupied. But the most vulnerable point at this moment is the section on the East which I have referred to.

What renders it particularly indispensable at this time and not an hour should be lost, is the peculiar circumstances of the Eastern states and the facilities which their superior naval force afford to the enemy to select any point of that section of the Union upon which they may think fit to make an impression.

I do not believe that disaffection is either so extensive as the seditious in that quarter represent, nor do I think that left to themselves without external influence, their clamors or the most treasonable efforts they could make would end in any other than their own destruction and the greater security of the government.

But as in all political affairs, as well as in military affairs, the effects of human passions acted upon by sudden and alarming events must be always taken into view, it may be safely assumed that the landing of a force of some three to five thousand troops of the enemy on any point of that section would encourage disaffection, and what is most to be apprehended, appal the virtuous. The effect need not be minutely examined, it is within the measure of every man's conception.

But it may be presumed that as the disaffection is more in clamor than in reality, there is not so much danger. This would be just reasoning if we had any reasons to think the British government to be wiser now or less credulous when their wishes were their counsellors than at former periods. If we wanted any evidence to satisfy us, the speeches in the Parliament of England in the last Session, the mission of Henry, and the audacious insolence and temerity of the adherents of England in our seaports and at the Seat of the government itself, would declare that the British government calculates largely on the disaffec-

tion in all parts of the Union, but particularly in the three maritime states next adjoining to N York. That they will act in some shape upon these calculations I believe there can be no doubt, whether they will resort to private emissaries and largesses, or to public offers of Alliance and association with those States; or whether they will employ their naval force to land an army on the Eastern coasts is uncertain; I think they will attempt all these means. It may be very truly urged, that they could derive no permanent advantage from such attempts; that they would be driven off in disgrace or their troops compelled to surrender; or that they could not send a force sufficient for any durable conquest. But admitting all these results as certain, the event is not the whole of the consideration, they could accomplish great and heavy afflictions — they would paralyse the efforts and obstruct the resources of prosperity over a large surface of country; the alarm would be even greater than the danger or the evil perpetrated but the evil would not be wholly local, its effects would be felt to the extreme of the union as the disastrous but comparatively trivial event at Detroit now is.

It may be well to consider what they can and may do. This importance which they necessarily and truly attach to the Station of Halifax, superadded to the importance of Quebec will induce them to send out a considerable force to Halifax, arriving early they might enter the St Lawrence at any time in the ensuing month of October, vessels to my knowledge have entered in November, and a vessel has been known to sail early in December; however, they can enter Halifax at any season. They may upon ten ships of war and 20 transports send 10000 men to Halifax. They can provision them by the temptations which they have held forth to the avarice of our people to carry provisions to Bermuda or direct to Halifax; but even if provisions should not be abundant they would then have a fresh stimulant to keep their troops in action and discipline, to transport a body of 5000 to some part of our coasts where by the previous advices of their emissaries they would find means to subsist their troops or satiate their rapacity.

Perhaps by an *understanding with their friends* they may not at first touch Boston; but the greater probability is that their first attempts would be in that quarter; but secure within Cape Cod with a superior fleet they could select any place in that Bay particularly Plymouth; the waters of Rhode Island and all along the Sound to New Rochelle they might depredate without danger, and land troops under cover of their ships, 5000 men landed on Long Island could carry off every thing upon it and bombard and lay N. York in ashes, and retire before any force competent to resist them could be brought to act.

I draw this sketch rapidly tho its scope is extensive, because altho' they could not operate on all that line of coast at once, yet they having

the choice of the point of attack it is indispensable to consider how far and how much they may be able to go and do.

That such is the course a powerful and skilful enemy would pursue, I believe will admit of no question; and without supposing them to possess all the skill in the world, it can hardly be presumed that they are so little acquainted with the management of military operations as to overlook such advantages as our circumstances present to them.

These views press upon the consideration of the government the importance of an early and adequate preparation against such contingencies; and there [are] other motives no less cogent which call imperiously for effective and prompt preparations.

Measures of prevention are of all others the most wise; they do not carry the eclat of victory but they secure the consolations of virtue; they do good by preventing evil. The means by which I would guard against them, is by acting upon the *offensive*. I would not wait for his assault, I would compel him to remain within his stronghold, if I could do no better; but if I could take it from him, I would prefer it, but at any events I would keep him so effectually in check that he should not be capable of moving without danger, and I should thereby protect myself.

In a paper which I published a few days ago, I threw out a loose sketch of these conceptions, but I confess *there was an object upon which I would not publicly touch*, which is of no less moment, perhaps of the greatest moment. I shall state it when I have suggested the means to which I would have recourse.

I would embody and encamp a force of 10000 men in two divisions; 5000 regulars, 5000 Volunteers, or such Militia as would perform a tour of duty for six months, in which case they should go at the end of every month after the first three, one thousand men, and be succeeded by 1000, who should be as exactly disciplined as the regulars; with these corps, I should threaten to march to Quebec in the first instance by the Kennebeck & Chaudiere; but I should by marches of discipline change their direction and menace Halifax; if Halifax should be found accessible (and I know it is) it might be taken after two or three feints; — if not taken the troops would at least be disciplined to war by the movements, and the enemy apprized of the state of preparation would be cautious of exposing his post by sending his troops upon marauding expeditions or to be taken by a force so much more capable from its local advantages of repelling them.

I need not point out the advantages to discipline, and to the acquisition of an efficient force for any service, the embodying a compact army of 10000 men would prove. But what I before referred to is the importance of having it embodied in the *very neighborhood of disaffection* — its

presence without a single act of rigor, its discipline without being employed on any other duty, would not only destroy every disposition to treason, but it would disconcert the enemy by occupying the very ground upon which *he had been invited to raise his standard*.

A force of this kind would attract attention, the faithful citizen would feel a confidence which he is now a stranger to — the army itself would circulate its pay and give activity to local industry; the voice of patriotism would be heard where treason now mutters curses upon the government which is too mild to punish it, and the operations in other quarters would instead of being interrupted or weakened, they would derive confidence and strength from the very knowledge that such a force existed.

I have expressed what I conceive to be in itself more important than I can describe it — but I sincerely believe it would be a measure of the greatest importance in all the views in which I have presented it.

I am Sir with great respect

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

The two parties opposed to the present administration, who had delegates at Lancaster — have quarreled and separated in ill blood — without agreeing on any object relative to the Governmental or Presidential election — a good omen.

To Jefferson.

PHILA Feb. 14. 1813

RESPECTED SIR, — I could not before this day find an opportunity undisturbed to answer yours of the 22^d ult. Never having been much of a pecuniary calculator it is absolutely out of my power to say how my account with the *Review of Montesquieu* stands. When pressed hard last year by the combination of one set of old friends and the desertion of the rest I found in the sacrifice of a considerable number of the review for the price of print and paper some little aid in saving me from wreck; and as every *cent* then was in effect as good as a dollar when I did not want the dollar, I have derived some gratification in that respect that even my wants contributed to utility; and in fact I feel perfectly satisfied, beside that I have some copies remaining which I sell now and then at 2 \$ allowing the bookseller who rents my store, the usual discount. I have made various efforts to have the book reviewed in Boston, N. York, and here without success; and even a copy which Mr Ronaldson deposited in the hands of the Edinburg Reviewers Editor, has had no better success; such is the conspiracy against virtue even among those who profess themselves the lovers of light and literature. I had once one inclination to send a copy to W. L. Smith of

Charleston in return for an anecdote of Dr Franklin which he volunteered to me; but as I was about to dispatch it I found he took himself off. I shall send you the original French MSS. by mail as soon as the Weather clears so as to secure it from danger of wet on the road; and I shall be grateful for the Copy of Tracy's Work, which I shall be able to go through as a change of exercise during the Summer.

I should not have ventured to touch upon political affairs, had you not mentioned the subject, having considered a former letter as in some measure interdicting me on that topic — and while I attempt it now I feel loth lest my ideas should give you pain; and am only justified to myself by the intention, which is not to give pain but to give the sentiments of a feeling and minute observer.

I believe it is unnecessary to repeat how fatally realized my predictions have been on our military affairs — the sacrifices in the west are not at an end, and I shall be very well content if Harrison after spending a million of dollars in his erratic course returns with the western youth safe to their homes. The sacrifice on the Raisin river is only a second edition of Tippecanoe — Detroit — Queenstown, and Buffaloe are all the fruit of the shocking disregard of common sense in the choice of unfit, incapable, and profligate men, raised by the vilest intrigues to stations in which the sacrifice of virtuous men was to be the fruit of their elevation. The solitary influence of gallantry in the subalterns & soldiers reflects back and renders more conspicuous the imbecility of those who were the leaders! I could go into a history of transactions on this subject that would shock you — I forbear — but it will be *history*. What could we expect but reverses, when one general was appointed full of years only to prevent his being a rival candidate to a member of Congress from the same district. Another because the Secretary at War declared “he would not have conducted the business against Wilkinson, had it not been for his aid.” If I could believe that providence ever interfered in human affairs or murdered the innocent to expiate the sins of the guilty who were spared, I should consider our sufferings in the last campaign a punishment for the shocking persecution of the man of all others best adapted to save the country from such disasters as ignorance and imbecility have brought upon us. How could we expect any thing but reverses. When I am well authorized to say that the very first news of the war given to the enemy by which Machilimackinac was taken and Hull's baggage intercepted *was communicated from Washington* I have experienced your repugnance to believe any thing sinister of particular men — I therefore forbear to name the person under whose frank that news passed to the North West company's agent. Whenever Hull's trial comes on the fact will appear. I do not choose to place myself again in that point of public view, which may expose me to persecution, my family to destruction,

and the cruel abandonment of those who owed me nothing but gratitude, and to whom I owe nothing but the blushes which the recollection of their conduct always produces.

The policy which has been pursued towards British agents in admitting cargoes notoriously contrary to established law, has had a fatal effect on the minds of the men most devoted to the republic — a change in that course of policy and the influence which directs, is the wish of thousands, and it cannot be long before it cannot be avoided; it squats like an *incubus* on the executive power and benumbs the whole government.

I have had repeated applications made to me to make a public exposition of numerous facts — I determined when the war was declared that I would not countenance any expositions which were not of vital importance to the State and I have adhered to it; where I could not applaud I have been silent, and I have endeavored by private communications to render every service in my power.

I should write more frequently to you if I did not apprehend it would be disagreeable; I have written now only in consequence of your touching the subject.

I shall be glad to receive Tracy's work whenever you may think proper to send it. Have you seen *Ganilh's* book on Political Economy — I find it translated into English published at N. York; is worthy of your perusal.

Believe me ever affectionately yours

W^m DUANE

This letter has been delayed till this date (9 March) by a rumor that you were unwell; Col. Coles who called here removed my fears first on that head — but the letter has lain over until taken up among the last month's miscellaneous business. M^r Madison's message about the licenses and his speech on his reelection have given some hopes to the republicans — but the failure of the laws in the Senate has excited equal disgust. M^r M. chose the *greater evil* and got rid of the lesser two years ago.

To Jefferson.

PHILA^A Sep^r 26, 1813

DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR, — I have the pleasure of receiving yours of the 18th this day — the work of Tracy is going forward but slowly, as I cannot devote from my present engagements the time I should wish to see it pushed forward. I have put it in the hands of one of Neef's assistants, a sensible and liberal young man; and Neef is able to render the abstruseness of Tracy's metaphysics a little more comprehensible than my young friend or myself should — I did not

calculate upon accomplishing it before the close of the present fall, and I think it will be ready for a full perusal by the end of October.

The affair of the *Enterprize & Boxer* has been followed by another triumph still more signal in manner and consequences. The victory on Lake Erie has laid the foundation for the Security of the western countries, which ought to have been long since achieved by the *enormous means* of every kind *money, men, and stores* furnished, but which have been wasted in a manner the most shameful and with effects corresponding in disgrace. It is deplorable, with the experience of ages and of our own times, with common sense to resort to, how unfortunate has been the manner in which the military operations were consigned and the hands in which they were placed. Poor Pike when I last saw him in this city said to me at parting — “I shall go to Canada probably never to return, but I shall go; for the generals we have are all generals of the Cabinet, and it is only after several of us who have some knowledge of military business are sacrificed, that men will be placed to lead who are now in the ranks or in obscurity — you shall then see our cabinet generals retire and fighting generals brought forward.”

It was a great calamity that such a man as Eustis should have had the appointments of the army at his discretion, since his errors have been a burthen to the country and an obstacle to his successor; that is however now in some measure correcting itself. No man esteems Gen Dearborne more than I do, but it was a great mistake to place him in these times at the head of a new army — and it was still worse to give him coadjutors incompetent from various causes to supply any of his deficiencies. He had Morgan Lewis for Q^r Master General, who if it could procure him a diadem could not give an instruction nor define the duties of one of his deputies, in fact it was sending a vessel to sea without raising her anchors to put such a man in such a station, and yet the expedient resorted to was to make him a Major General who could not execute the duties of Q^r Master! Another of poor Dearborne's props was Alexander Smythe, a man who to this hour is incapable of exercising a company, and this is the man who was to organize a raw army! General Bloomfield had some experience and was wounded at Brandywine, and his knowledge of details in the old forms is perhaps equal to any one of his cotemporaries; but he has not the remotest idea of modern principles nor of that distribution of the duties which renders ten thousand men as manageable as one though he is a man of note — and independent of the effects of age which is already dotage, he was not competent to any service in action, and especially in Canada; while Pike was in his brigade it was well because Pike saved him the trouble of every sense but hearing — and at last the organization of the Staff afforded an opportunity to place

him where no military service was required, but where it required the greatest patience and a sentiment of generosity to keep matters out of confusion — a Volunteer association composed of the sons of Tories and Aristocrats in this city were called into service by him at the very moment they were defaming the government — they were sent to camp and were a curse to the neighborhood — on their march they entered peaceable houses and carried away provisions by violence, tho' amply supplied by public providence they practised in common various acts of violence on the public arms in their hands and damed them as Democratic arms and returned them totally unfit for service; yet these men received *public thanks in a general order for their exemplary conduct and discipline!* As Adjutant General I declined signing and refused to publish such an order — but it is only a specimen of what was doing on the frontiers.

I speak of this matter more fully because it comes under my own eyes and knowledge — I have no motive of a personal kind to be dissatisfied with Gen. B. and he has more than once said he was fortunate in having me as his adj. Gen. But it goes to show what unhappy misconceptions governed the choice of officers. Winder was a younger man but before he was appointed he knew no more of Military affairs than his horse; and I am satisfied he could not put a company in motion now after two years experience. Chandler was not a whit better as to intelligence. The consequences have been seen, but it has cost the country much treasure and much more precious blood, which might have been saved. But if I were to go into the numeration of all that might be truly said and deplored on this subject, you would be tired and I should be ashamed to exhibit a picture so inconsistent with the virtue of a republic and so fatal to its character for talents and public spirit. The refusal of Gen. Davie and Governor Ogden of rank in the army, they pretend to justify upon such grounds as those, tho' I am perfectly aware that their refusal was actuated by different motives. Their nomination however is very characteristic of the fatal policy which has too long prevailed, and which your goodness will excuse me for saying was too much countenanced by yourself; it is too plain that we are not all *republicans nor all federalists* — the spirit of faction in the East I apprehend has been too much encouraged by the mistakes which they perceived we ran into, and which they attributed to a fear of their power instead of that benignity in which it originated.

It will be found true I believe in all times, that men who are indifferent to social and moral obligations can be governed by no other means than by their fears or interests; to place men of such a character on a level with men of principle or virtue is to reduce virtue and vice, patriotism and perfidy to a common standard of merit! The effects have been felt in our political affairs — and in our military operations

—the army has exhibited a theatre of dissention, and the sword which was put to the field to assail the enemy has been too frequently unsheathed to assault the vindicator of his country's rights and government. The late General Pike told me that until he witnessed the treasonable and seditious discourses in the field he had considered himself a federalist, but that he was not only cured, but astonished how the government ever appointed one of them to a place of honor or confidence. I fear that the policy of *courting enemies* and *sacrificing friends* prevails too much in political affairs, and remote and small as its beginnings were, that it has been carried to such a height as if not speedily put a stop to by some generous and magnanimous rallying of the republicans it will end in the frustration of all the good that has arisen out of the triumph of 1800. I could say a great deal on this topic if I were not afraid of tiring you or of giving you pain — and I have not written on politics so much as I have now written since March last.

The sentiments you express concerning the unhappy men in the hands of the enemy, have warmed my most affectionate feelings towards you — Would to God that M^r Madison felt as you do, and would act upon it; he would glorify himself and it would do more than ten sail of the line or twenty thousand men in prosecuting the war to a peace, and in elevating our country in the eyes of the World. Can it be possible that M^r Madison does not converse with you or is his health such as to render him unable; surely M^r Monroe would think and act with your thoughts. It would be rendering a most honorable service to M^r Madison and to humanity to point out this glorious path to Justice and Natural Dignity.

I have never had the confidence or personal knowledge of M^r Madison with which you have honored me, or I should have written him on such subjects often. A man has been lately sent from Halifax to England in Irons who has been a citizen of the U. S. 20 years and with a family!

You may expect very soon to hear of something very decisive and brilliant by our land forces — the orders for operations have been issued for movements at four points on the same day; the Erie business will favor Harrison's operations, if he has only prudence to consult some man of talents as to his operations; but Proctor must evacuate Michigan and Malden to prevent being cut off; if Harrison possessed either talents or enterprise he would by throwing 2000 men across the Lake to *Long Point* compel him to surrender at Discretion.

The operations going on lately have had in view to deceive the enemy, and it has succeeded admirably for I find Sir Geo. Provost has forsaken Kingston, where he ought to have made his stand in order to go up to the head of the Lake to meet those demonstrations which

were making there for no purpose in the world, as I believe but to delude him into a snare.

The division under Gen. Hampton has proceeded down Champlain; the troops with him are select and excellent; he has some able men near him, and he has discretion enough to depend on them more than on himself, which is no bad quality in such a responsible station — *being in it*. I presume that he will be (as he ought to be) in Montreal at least before the 1st of October; in that event our whole force must be brought below. Kingston will I suppose be taken by Wilkinson. Quebec will be left for the end of May & June next — when it must fall — a siege of four weeks ought to bring Quebec under the American banner.

But I have tired you — if it is not interesting it will be at least an evidence of my unabated respect and confidence in your continued liberality & friendship.

W^m DUANE

To Madison.

PHILA 22^d Feb. 1814

SIR, — Having had the honor to address you on the appointment of a Postmaster in this city, I think myself bound to represent to you that an effort wholly artificial and factious is now making here to make an impression on your mind that the appointment is not approved by the mass of the community. It is very inauspicious for the republican cause, when the worst of men and the vilest of passions can by any means assume the representation of the feelings and wishes of the community. But unquestionably the republican cause has been for some years in such hands as made virtuous men ashamed and feeling men tremble. The principle of regarding the greater good more than partial evil, has induced me in the station which I had occupied with some service to the public, to remain rather a neutral spectator, willing to suffer in my personal affairs & feelings, than resist a state of things which as to the state was only just not as bad as the reign of terror in 1797–8. The preponderating advantage of silence was that while every thing was inconsistent with former political professions in the state, the ruling influence had come round from opposition to support of the general government; and the importance of the state to the Union in such critical times weighed down every personal consideration. This impunity has perhaps tended to aggravate the evil here, and as to persons the evil is now becoming as grievous as federal proscription in 1798. The same means then employed by the infuriate Marats of that day are now in operation by the Marats of the present. The persecutors of 1798 called themselves Federalists; these of to-day call themselves republicans; but it is rather an extraordinary

coincidence, that the same men who were proscribed then by one party should be now proscribed by the other — and that in both instances the most abandoned men of both parties should be the most active and conspicuous and that the terrorists of this day literally adopt the means of slander and aspersion and the proscription of persons who do not concur with them.

I use the name of only one man the most active and slanderous of all the present race — Matt. Randall, of whose character Captain Josiah and Capt. W. Jones the present Sec^y of the Navy can give you ample information.

These men have caused a printed paper to be circulated for signatures — and there is no paper to which a number of signatures could not be procured when names not character is required. I cite two cases in exemplification of the course pursuing here. Mr John Dorsey is an auctioneer under a commission from the State Executive, he signed a paper for a candidate for the Post office which was handed him by one of the partisans who are in rule; another paper has been since handed him for the removal of D^r Leib; Mr Dorsey had the honesty to say he could not sign such a paper as it was false from beginning to end — they have threatened to turn him out of his station for refusing to sign what he could not believe.

Application was made to Stephen Girard the Banker for the like purpose, he repelled them with indignation, and told them he highly approved of the appointment of D^r Leib.

In short, Sir, the calumnies raised against D^r Leib are the stale slanders brought out of a family quarrel in 1798 or 1799, and introduced by a rival for political purposes — there is not on earth a man of purer integrity or nicer honor than D^r Leib in his dealings between man and man. He has no enemies but those created by political disputes — and take away those who are interested in the present case of the Post Office there is not a respectable man in this community and a friend to the government who does not approve the appointment.

The state of politics in this state in such hands as it now is cannot endure — I have no other interest in this case than a common one and the love of justice — I do not wish to see the executive converted into an indirect libeller of any man's character, upon the evidence of the vilest men in the community. Let me most earnestly assure you that the course now pursuing here to injure D^r Leib has excited the strongest indignation in some of the most respectable of those who have sustained your administration; and that if you were to give way to these artificial clamors — that the administration would suffer in the opinions of men whose opinions are more precious than the clamors of these Demagogues are to be feared. It would be throwing pain into honest hearts to gratify men who would abandon as they before abused your

name, mind, character and authority. For myself a proscription of this kind countenanced by you would make me despair of the Republic which cruelty and relentless personal persecution has not hitherto done.

Excuse, Sir, the warmth and the sincerity of this address — I trust that it is not offensive — and am sure it was not meant to be — it flows from my heart & unknown to another being. With great respect your obed Ser^t

WM DUANE

To Madison.

PHILA 22d June, 1814

SIR, — I trust to be pardoned for the liberty of addressing you when I assure you of my unfeigned sincerity, that I should not address you on any occasion, which I did not believe the object consistent with justice and calculated to do you honor, I have seldom taken this liberty and never for myself. The vacancy in the Post Office here has as is usual called forth a number of Candidates. My purpose is to solicit the station for a man whose sacrifices of a respectable profession and whose services in critical times entitle him to the generous consideration of the Republican Administration. Dr M. Leib to my knowledge sacrificed his medical practice of 5000 \$ a year, and came forward in defence of the principles of the government when the whole number of men who dared to avow their politics in this city did not exceed twenty. He has for his services in that trying period incurred an unvarying course of political persecution — no man in this community has done more within the period of my experience by his zeal, intelligence, and integrity than Dr. Leib. Other men with politics and morals more elastic have accumulated wealth, while he has been the scape goat of the apostates from principle and the proselytes of avarice to the prevailing authority.

I am the more earnestly induced to trespass on you with my feelings on this occasion because the opposition to him bears a character so impudent and indecent in its public form, and proceeds from a person who not seven years ago avowed that he would have been a Tory had he lived in the Revolution, and who has been elected to Congress only through the disposition which has prevailed with those in this district who could have prevented it to make every sacrifice to avoid even the appearance of division at a period when union was so necessary.

Of the candidates who it is reported are likely to possess a strong interest with the Executive I am told young Mr Bache is one. My connexions with that gentleman's family, are well known ; I also know that he possesses already a handsome fortune and an office under the state government.

But there is a consideration which you will I am sure pardon me for

pressing upon your attention, because it in some degree touches myself; and in truth because I have experienced in some measure how little past services are regarded in politics when present purposes derive no support for them. It is painfully true that in this district the men who rendered the most service in the days of terror, who sacrificed every thing and who risked life, have been grievously persecuted by men who call themselves the friends of the administration — some of these persecutors high in office and enormously aggrandized from public patronage, I can assert for myself that I have been grievously persecuted in my industry, my character, my family peace, and in every pursuit — by persons of this description. I have in this respect shared a fate in common with Dr Leib, who has felt it more perhaps because he had not in his hands the means of vindication and retaliation which I possess, but which because I do possess I have seldom used.

My hope in addressing you thus earnestly is to put an end to this notion that men whose services were precious in trying times are to be held up for proscription, to persons who unite so many incongruities of character of every kind that I forbear to trouble you with any particular enumeration of them. I solicit for Dr Leib your patronage honestly and manfully — Let me add that I do this without his knowledge — nay that he and I have not been on terms of intimacy since the last session of Congress — nor have we spoken to or corresponded with each other. I can assure you that however the appointment may be opposed by men who will oppose every thing, by those who have within two or three years used and flattered you — by those who would with equal facility abuse you again were their avarice to be glutted by it — I assure you that no man of whom I have heard will afford more satisfaction to the liberal, to those only whose opinion is worthy of the regard of a chief magistrate or any other honest man.

I am Sir with the utmost respect

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

To Jefferson.

PHIL^A 11 Aug. 1814

RESPECTED & DEAR SIR, — The translation has been completed several months, but business of every kind has been thrown into new channels, and of the six presses which were formerly employed for my benefit only one which prints the Aurora is now employed — there was not work to pay wages, and the MSS. remains on hand. Unless a change of some kind takes place I see no prospect of doing any thing — for I am too low in purse to be able to contribute any thing to my wishes and the cause of truth.

The state of things in Europe has baffled all human anticipations —

where it will end is as difficult to foresee. Unless as they affect our own country I feel no deep interest in them — the French have fallen from the loftiest pinnacle of renown to the lowest abyss of contemptibility; and one is equally at a loss whether to despise them or to abhor the author of all the wars of Europe most. Spain is to be sure a kind of foil to elevate France, by exhibiting the force and brutality of superstition on the unfortunate species. But they are all very appropriately assimilated to bears, and lions, and panthers and tygers —

I think seriously however of the effect on our own affairs, and the more seriously when I reflect on the state of the government and the apathy into which the people have fallen: a state perhaps the like of which never was before seen in a nation, an apathy which like the state of the human stomach in certain cases, will admit of no wholesome aliment; and receives no nourishment but thro' a poisonous medium.

The country appears to me in a state very much resembling that of Holland in the time of the illustrious DeWitts, I believe about 1670 or thereabout; and menaced by the same enemy and by the same kind of agency. Hume describes it briefly but truly and I am afraid the moral condition of the country is not much better than was that of the Dutch who could be prevailed on to murder their benefactors, to subserve the rapacious avarice and jealousy of England and to elevate a family who were to be their tyrants as the price of the subserviency of the tyrant to England.

The Dutch would not believe — I mean the Dutch republicans, the DeWitts, would not believe the British meant to play them foul; they believed in British friendship; they believed the professions and promises of British Ministers — *in defiance of the daily acts of contumely and outrage committed on their people*

I see the same credulity in our government — I see the power of England in the *sneers* of her agents as they walk our streets — I see the predominancy of that influence in the midst of war, and — forgive me — I see our own government temporising with this abominable government and inviting their contempt and their insolence by treating them in a manner which they must consider with exultation — as they must judge by themselves — and always have been truckling and mean in adversity, as they have been insolent and overbearing in Prosperity.

Our Government will never accomplish any thing by reasoning or appealing to justice, whose policy is established on the injury of all other nations and whose habitual passions as a nation are hatred, envy, jealousy, and hardness of heart towards every other people.

How will the bear and the lion settle the question of neutral rights — as the French say. I fear it is *en l'air* — it is something like the balloons thirty years ago, no longer an object worth contending for — the Deliverer of Europe will probably commute for Poland all pretensions

to the freedom of the Seas. My respect for Kings and Statesmen is not encreased by the experience of twenty years past. The possession of power appears to operate like a Tourniquet on the moral faculties, as soon as men possess power the moral artery appears to be *screwed up* — and the statesman becomes as frigid as a frog — Alexander the Deliverer has had his *sop*. I believe he will sit down “infamous and contented”; but Poland is an immense bastion, flanking Silesia, Bohemia, Lusatia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary — the road by Krems over which Suwaroff marched for Italy & Switzerland is within a few miles of Vienna.

Saxony proper is portioned to aggrandize Prussia, this reduces Prussia to vassalage to Russia, and enables Russia to keep Austria counterpoised — the Austrian Empress is I believe a Saxon! There is to be a grand farce at Vienna, the parade of Plenipotentiaries, who are to act as the arch jugglers Talleyrand & Castleragh seduce by cunning or purchase by gold — those grand *arsons* who set fire to nations and retire by the light of the conflagration they kindle to collect the spoils of desolation amidst the ruins. But where am I running.

England cannot at this moment sit down quietly in peace, without greater danger than she can incur by continuing the war. This may appear a paradox. Her condition cannot at any time be suddenly changed — it is now *wholly military* — her circulation and social subsistence circulates through military channels — her means and experience are now more commensurate to war than at any former period — she may reduce as many of her land and naval forces as can with safety be admitted into society — but she will be obliged to send abroad or to abandon a larger portion, which would perhaps enter the armies of her rivals, or carry them selves to America to augment American population or man American vessels in commerce or war. England has experienced the want of Generals, it has taken her 20 years to produce one, and she will endeavor to keep up the breed; she has discovered that what Vegetius said long ago is true — “neither length of years, nor knowledge of state affairs, do” back the art of War, but *continual exercise*.

What does this lead to, you will ask? It leads to considerations that disturb my sleep and induce me to look at the little flock of innocents around me; I recollect what I have seen of English policy, I recollect the traditionary history of three generations of my ancestors — I have seen in three quarters of the earth beside my country the policy of England — the national character of its policy — I am ready to meet it, but I cannot be therefore insensible to what must be inevitable — if the Government does not act as becomes the exigency — if they slumber like the DeWitts over a Volcano; if they temporise with disaffection and exhibit in all their Measures the same melancholy evidences of discord which characterises the extremities of the nation — we are undone.

England has purchased every government in Europe — by her gold she has arrayed them all in arms — and in the midst of what was reputed the best organized tyranny that ever was framed she organized a conspiracy for its overthrow — and succeeded. Are we to expect this haughty power will in the insolence of her unexampled success treat us with delicacy or justice — O fatal expectation! fatal because it is even supposed to be possible!

But what is wrong or what would be right.

Pardon me as usual for the freedom and unreserve with which I speak to you — I pretend to nothing more than common sense. And if I speak with confidence and firmness it is to be attributed only to the earnestness & sincerity of my convictions. What is wrong? Why the war from the first movement towards Tippecanoe to the last movement into Canada by Niagara has been a series of futile and wasteful measures, productive if successful of no positive and comprehensive or desirable good, but productive of disaster and destruction as they have been conceived and conducted. It was a fatal mistake not to declare war at the period of the Chesapeake, but the most fatal of all mistakes was the repeal of the Embargo. But I cannot conceive how any man who has considered the world for a life of forty years only could expect any thing but war after that repeal, or could think of accomplishing any solid object of peace but by a vigorous exercise of the whole energies of the nation. The embargo repeal indeed deceived the enemy fortunately as much as it deceived ourselves, for Mr Quincey only echoed what Henry and other English emissaries said in Boston, that *we could not be kicked into a war.*

The measures taken and the manner in which the war has been conducted is the true cause of the apathy that prevails in society. The friends of the Government, that is the Whigs of 1798, are the most disgusted and disappointed. They recollect the proscriptions and tyranny that prevailed during the last years of General Washington and all Mr Adams' presidency, and they tremble at the idea of their recurrence; and they see that to be inevitable unless there be a different system, and unless the Executive pursues means to rouse the country to a sense of its danger.

I sent you a little memoir in 1812, I send you a copy of it again — you will see that what I there suggested, was not only practicable, but that some part of it has since been proposed but not executed; I mean the passage of the Cadaraqui and the occupation of a position cutting off the communication with Lower Canada.

The expeditions from Detroit against Malden — against Queenstown — against Fort George, against York in Upper Canada, could never at any time accomplish a purpose decisive of the war. It was the duty of this Government not to have made discursive expeditions; the Militia

should have maintained a defensive war and protected their frontier; the regular force should have been all concentrated; and they were not only fully adequate to conquer all upper Canada by one battle; but to overwhelm lower Canada with the force possessed in the month of July last or in the month of March of the present year. The gallantry of Miller, Croghan and Johnson, Holmes, of Perry & Elliot, do not compensate the losses of the expeditions under Harrison and the shameful transactions of his command.

The victory at York was dearly purchased by the life of Pike — but what did it or what could it accomplish even if he survived.

The design against Montreal was one of the most infatuated that the mind of man ever conceived, whether the season, the position, the mode of access, the force and means possessed for the service, or the condition of the enemy be considered; it was passing into a well without a ladder to reascend, and the enemy above to cut off all supplies or access to you. The shocking imbecility of Hampton at Chateauguay was alike disgraceful to him and the Government which under the shelter of his wealth suffered him to escape in contempt of all discipline — indeed his first appointment was a reproach to the government, since every man who knew him must know that neither education nor God had qualified him for a military command — and it must be an implicit belief in the possibility of miracles which could alone sanction it.

How can the people believe that the government was in earnest when such men as Morgan Lewis was made first a Quarter Master General, one function of which he was not fit to execute, and then a Major General when found unfit to be a Q^r M^r.

I could go more into particulars but I have already written too much. The measures as now conducted will lead only to the same calamitous issues as last year — The force now under Gen. Izard if carried against Prescott on the Cadaraqui might decide the campaign by the surrender of all upper Canada and render all our seamen now on Ontario & Erie disposable on Champlain; our force now dispersed might be concentrated; and our line of defence would be reduced to the line between the Cadaraqui and Sorrel, instead of from Mackinac to Champlain. The Indians would be quelled for want of subsistence and English agents; and our forces could be in training for the opening of the Spring, when I expect to see a British army landed on our coasts.

In reflecting on the events which are to be expected, I have conceived a project, the policy of which I will submit to you in a concise way; I have no doubts or fears about its success or efficacy myself, but there are so many prejudices on the subject that I am well aware of the delicacy with which it ought to be touched; tho' once carried into operation, it would be in my mind one of the most powerful and effec-

tive means of public defence that could be devised by the wisdom of man — I shall give it on a separate sheet.

The enemy are now establishing a depot on the extreme of Long Island — I do not expect that they will attempt any thing on a large Scale this fall unless they should attempt a *Coup de Main* — but I expect they will in the Spring be prepared with a force to shake our country to the centre.

Our government could lose nothing by acting upon this principle — they may sacrifice every thing by acting upon any other.

With great esteem and respect

Your friend & Serv^t

W^m DUANE

Would it be expedient to use black troops?

The probability of an extensive and perhaps durable war, renders it important to anticipate every means by which the public safety may be endangered or secured. There are many who fear a rising of the colored people, this suggests an enquiry, — on three several points

1. What would be the effect of the employment in war of the white population alone?

2. What would be the effect on the colored population?

3. What would be the policy of the enemy?

1. Obligated to act on the defensive, the U. S. army must at all time consist of not less than 50000 effective men regulars.

Militia 100,000 for short periods.

If only one tenth of this number be diminished every year by the casualties of camps and war, then the annual diminution each year would be 15000 men; say only 10000, as our people are more hardy and better adapted to endure fatigue than Europeans.

If there be any foundation for the apprehension of revolt, then the danger is increased by the employment of whites alone; while the colored men are exempted from any participation in the dangers or privations of war; and their relative strength will be augmented to excess equal to the number taken from the whites.

It must be here observed that the hypothesis presumes the revolt probable; I however do not believe it probable, without a foreign excitement.

2. The relative effect on the numbers of the colored population is touched in a particular sense in the preceding observations. In another point of view it is very important. The American born blacks, even in the Southern states where slavery is yet suffered, feel a sentiment of patriotism and attachment to the U. S. Those who doubt it know very little of human nature and the force of habit on the human mind.

There is nothing in the African traditions that can awaken either the affections of the heart or that enthusiasm which is the effect of lost or promised happiness or glory. Slavery is congenial to the habits of thinking and to the condition of the actual Africans and their immediate descendants, their past condition was no better than the present; and the present condition of the descendant ten thousand cases to one is better than in Africa or any other country where they are numerous. If climate be the consideration, the descendants know it only by description and the climates of the Southern States identify everything that can be desirable in Africa. Their ideas of liberty like all other ideas are derived from association; and apt as they are frequently to desire to imitate the whites, very few of them ever rise to [so] much above their condition as [to] feel the sentiment of equality of rights in the dissimilarity of colors. I have known Africans of highly cultivated minds, I never found but one who was not content to be an external imitator of the manners and habits of white men.

To gratify their passion for imitation to a certain extent would I believe secure their affections and assure the exercise of all their faculties. The Asiatics are by no means more intelligent than the Africans and their descendants in what relates to their social relations to the whites. The Asiatics equal the hardest and proudest and bravest of human species; their valor, contempt of danger, and of pain and death are not to be surpassed, yet they are susceptible of the most rigid discipline; so would the descendants of the Africans serve and be serviceable in the United States. To employ them as soldiers would be to save so many of the whites and if loss be to be calculated, to assure a proportional suffering and thereby a proportionate Security.

To employ the blacks would be to carry against the British a force to them on many accounts most terrific, and to us a bond not only of security against the external enemy, but the best force by which the refractory of their own color could be kept in subjection. I need not point out the effect on the minds of the ignorant of any color, when one part is elevated into a better condition or more honored than his fellows. I do not admire the trait, I only speak of what is and what I fear ever will be the human character.

3. There can be no doubt from what has been already seen in the waters of the Chesapeake that the enemy will endeavor to use the black population against us. It is the policy of the British in every part of the globe. They have corrupted and arrayed the Whites of N. Eng. against the Whites South of them — they have arrayed the white Protestant against the white Catholic in Ireland — they arrayed the blacks of St. Domingo against the Whites — they array Mahomedans against Hindus in India and govern *seventy millions* of an ingenious people by about forty brigades of troops enlisted out of the mass of

the people whom they rule; they reign with a white population of about 20000 military and civil scattered over a country of 2000 square miles in perfect security and as safe as in the midst of England.

Their policy would not overlook our apprehensions or the resource which a revolt would present to them. Counteract them — defeat them by turning the resources upon which they calculate against them. They have already erected a standard and issued an invitation in the South. My proposition would be to embody a single brigade to establish the first economy and discipline of the corps, and the mildness of the East India companys sepoy system is exactly such as is adapted to the purpose; they might then be augmented, one battalion of 500 men to every white Reg of one thousand; confining them to Infantry of the line, sappers and advance corps.

I feel a perfect persuasion of the efficacy and security of such corps — and that to overlook or neglect to use them for military service will not only be a fatal blindness, but perhaps the only mode by which the colored population can become dangerous or injurious.

I could enter into more detail, but the object is so important and novel to the mind that it is presented in this concise form to give it a fair opportunity for examination.

To James Monroe.

PHILA 25 Octr 1814

D^r SIR, — M^r Manuel Torres, a gentleman of South America who has resided here for a considerable number of years and is attached to our government and country, has favored me with the perusal of some financial views which I consider of the greatest value and worthy the attention of Government. I have advised him to present himself to you, and thro' you to the President and to the Sec^{ry} of the Treasury; and I have given him a note similar to this to Mr Giles and Mr Eppes and shall do the like to a few others of my friends in Congress.

Mr Torres is a man of practical experience and his principles and views perfectly in the Spirit of our Government, to which I believe him most sincerely attached.

I am with great respect

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE.

To Jefferson.

PHILA 23^d Novr 1814

RESPECTED SIR, — I enclose you one of 12 copies of another of my humble efforts to give *direction to the minds of Congress* towards their danger and their salvation.

It behoves every man to employ his whole influence and mind to

stimulate Congress in time to provide against the Spring A *mighty effort* can be accomplished if the members of Congress can but be brought to perceive the danger; and the war may be terminated before the middle of July by the utter expulsion of the enemy from Canada; any thing short of that will be doing nothing or worse. Driven out of that our whole disposable force would be adequate to meet the enemy at any point on the Seaboard. And the regular force might be if necessary reduced to one half.

With the greatest respect & esteem your friend

W^m DUANE.

Received from M^r N. G. Dufief Fifteen Dollars, being so much paid by him on account of Thomas Jefferson late Pres^t of the United States in account with me.

W^m DUANE

PHIL^A 2^d May, 1815.

To Jefferson.

PHIL^A 9th Jan 1817

RESPECTED SIR, — There is a small sum of 60 \$ money paid by me for the translating of the continuation of Tracy's ideology; the pressure of the present times alone could induce me to trespass upon you, as the young man the Bookseller at George Town to whom you proposed giving the work to be printed, intimated something like dissatisfaction or disapprobation on your part towards me. As I was wholly ignorant of any just reason I forbore, as I have been accustomed to do all my life, to offer no apologies for any unconscious offence; I could not with propriety to myself address you now without stating the reason why I had not as customary in former times written to you. With unchangeable feelings of respect and affection, I am your friend & Ser^t

W^m DUANE.

Endorsed by Jefferson: "Acct signed John B Smyth for Wm Duane
60. D. transl 5 paper to May 1. 16."

To Alden Partridge.¹

PHILA 15th July, 1820

MY DEAR SIR, — Having seen your name as engaged in some Scientific pursuit near Boston I had refrained from addressing you; but seeing in Nat. Intel^e your letter of 30th June, I now write you with the view of ascertaining when your college will open. I have kept my son Edward at occasional Arithmetical exercises and historical study, expecting to hear of your opening. Be so good as to let me know without delay when you will be ready to receive students, and in the

¹ Norwich, Vermont.

event of its being soon open what may be necessary to be done in the way of equipment — when it may be proper to send him and whatever else you may think requisite. Should the College not be likely to open in the present year, I must place him in some other situation so that he may not lose this precious period of life.

I find that the affairs at West Point are in as much disorder as formerly — and that vicious man Ellicott appears to have obtained a fatal ascendancy thro' Scott over the present inexperienced and pragmatic Secretary of War. I have been applied to, to know if I would publish a series of Essays on the abuses there, and have answered that I never promise to publish any thing before I have perused it — but that I will always publish any duly authenticated facts of abuse of public trust, or perversion of a public institution, be the culprits whom they may — but it must be a fair open and direct investigation.

I should like to know any particulars that may be agreeable to you to communicate concerning your establishment — and if there are any facts concerning the boundary of 45° — which may divest us of any territory — I am otherwise interested in it, as it possibly may determine whether I am a *Canadian* or a *N. Yorker*.

Accept my most sincere and affectionate respects.

To Jefferson.

PHILADELPHIA, June 25, 1824

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR, — Your kind and consolatory letter of the 31^{ult}. I have just received on my return from Washington city, where I have been since the 10th of Feb. engaged in settling accounts of ten years standing and rescuing myself from the opprobrium of being classed among the public defaulters. I will not plague you by a recapitulation of the vexations and injuries I have suffered thro' the baleful system (if it may be so called, which is contrary to all principles of policy, equity and justice) of accountantship in the Department under which my affairs had to be adjusted. In short I had a charge of \$9000 first laid against me, — reduced to \$7000 — reduced to \$4000, and for this sum a judgment was obtained against me which was all founded on technicalities, and without regard to the facts upon the face of written and contemporary statement; where my own statement of periodical account presenting Debit and Credit Items, I was debited on my own statement but no credit would be allowed upon my credit side of the same sheet of paper! My appeal to Congress, however, relieved me from the imputation of the judgment and gave me a balance of about 2000 \$ as a public creditor, restoring to me my reputation; tho' the Judgment was the immediate cause of my selling off all of property that I had in 1822, and paying to the last dollar of the produce, for as

Farquhar expresses it "the scoundrel attorney" appeared to delight in vexatious notifications of a judgment hanging over me, and alarming those to whom in the way of business I had transactions of credit, such as the paper maker, the typefounder, and the ink maker. To avoid all this I resolved to sell all and begin the world anew in my 64th year, and some gentlemen who had furnished supplies to the Colombians solicited me to visit that country to settle and obtain the amount of their accounts, I accepted their proposal to defray all my expenses, pay a weekly allowance to my wife during my absence, and allow me a commission on all I should settle in behalf of the claimants. My eldest daughter by my present wife was threatened with consumption and, like my daughter Katherine much attached to me, solicited to accompany, and her brother the second son of B. F. Bache, a lieutenant in the army desired to at his own expense — with this little family party I set out in Oct^r 1822, and was in 15 days at La Guayra — where after 3 days, moved to Caracas, and a residence there of 3 weeks, moved in Nov^r for Bogota passing five great ranges and seven lesser ranges of the Andes, many cities and towns, and reached that Capital 3^d Feb. 1823 — remained there in prosecution of the business 3 months — settled accounts to the amount of \$104,000 with the board of liquidation; left Bogota by the Magdalena 27 April, reached Carthagena the 19th May; remained there at the house of W D Robinson (author of a work on Mexico) until embarkation 10th June, and reached N. York on the auspicious 4th July.

An intrigue, I am sorry to say of a worthless American, deprived me of the benefit of my mission, other than the advantage of having my beloved child not only restored to health but to robust florid health by a journey on mules of more than 1400 miles. I had intended to have given some sketches of my journey to your worthy M^r Randolph and not without a presentiment that his good lady and her father would be gratified — the necessity I was under of going to Washington in February interfered with this purpose, but I shall if no unhappy cause interferes pursue it. I returned from Washington only Yesterday; and while there was surprized, and I must say gratified to learn from Col. R. M. Johnson, that you had written to the President concerning me. I was the more gratified because I had so long been without the satisfaction of an occasional line from you, as I had been sometimes accustomed to; but how it came to pass that you should so write I was totally at a loss to conceive till your letter before me indicated. For as I am perhaps too proud for my condition, and was seeking some pursuit fitted for me, I did not make my true situation known but to those who from connexion could not remain wholly unacquainted with it. Col. R. M. Johnson whose friendship is of an old standing and whose friendship ardent towards me had voluntarily sought to

obtain some situation for me, as I understood to be sent to Colombia or Mexico, but other arrangements had been made. Some others of my old friends, such as Governor D Holmes of Mississippi also took an interest of the same kind in my favor, and presuming upon your kind interference and that of others, on my being at Washington I had the satisfaction of a kind and friendly interview with P^t Monroe. I spoke to him unreservedly of my circumstances and desire to obtain some public employment, and suggested in consequence of the vacancy of an Auditorship that if the fourth which was vacant should be filled by M^r Lee now Second Auditor, my acquaintance with Military accounts would render the Second Auditorship very suitable to my experience and aptitudes. This arrangement however did not take place and I returned home under an uncertainty: tho' before I left the city I was informed that one of the M^r Bradley's (asst. Post^r Gen^l) was about to retire, and that I might probably be appointed to the vacant station. This however did not reach me directly, and probably was more the result of friendly wishes than of any known purpose. Should it be within your ideas of propriety to place me again before him, I know his dispositions to be good, but really he has been so run down by importunity, and so harrassed by the incidents of three Candidates at a time in his immediate circle, that it is not [at] all surprizing that he should be embarrassed and his memory carried off from his wishes in matters of inferior concern, or where there is such a mass of importunity.

My situation is really painful — my poor wife, accustomed to a life of plenty and educated in habits more elegant than prudent, could bear the storms of political persecution with the constancy of a Roman matron and be the consolation and the partner of her husband in danger; but the adversity of need or dependance is not of that nature — and I fear that a protraction of our present condition may be fatal to her and to us all, her sorrows extend to her daughters, of whom we have four, the eldest 21, the youngest 11 — If there was a certainty of the vacancy above referred to and my appointment, I could console her, but I cannot suggest to her what may be a disappointment. The balance received by me was about 2000 but a great part of that was for engagements entered into by me for the public service and which I must of course pay away, what will remain may afford a scanty subsistence for three or four months, when no other resource appears to me at this moment open. Were I alone, a small pittance indeed would serve me — but it would afford me unspeakable delight if I could see her and my children once more in comfort & competency, and the station alluded to would not only effect those objects but be of many beneficial effects.

Presuming then upon the kindness of your proffered solicitation for me, I request your good offices once more with the President — he is

well disposed — but he is not aware of the *necessity* which alone could impel me to thus entreat you.

The pamphlet arose out of a conversation with Major Clarke of Richmond, — I endeavored in conversation to remove the impressions he entertained and which prevailed very generally, he complained that he was convinced but could not recollect all my remarks and requested me to write them; I felt some repugnance to appearing in the Newspapers, but he promised to return what I should write — I wrote, shewed them to Judge Woodward, Col. Todd and two or three others — who requested copies, but agreed to pay for 50 — which I had printed and sent two to you — but it was discovered and I was importuned for copies and authorised the printer to issue a few for sale in a second edition. I am gratified to find it meets your sentiments — No one will suspect me of British attachments — but I have done justice to British policy where it is deserved, shewing however the motive.

Mexico will demand much more activity in our policy than I am afraid there is a due estimate of. M^r Edwards is not a fit man for the state of things there at any time — much more in the present critical time in that country. A country of 6,500,000 souls, with no more than 350,000 proprietors of soil, must leave a vast body of *disposable* people — “Take 100,000 pieces of calico and 2000 dollars” said the late Manuel Torres, “and a piece of calico and 2 \$ each will bring forth 100,000 men capable of being led any where and doing good or evil at the absolute discretion of their paymaster.” There have been very active intrigues in that country for several years.

I have trespassed much on you but you’l excuse me

Ever yr obe^t

W^m DUANE.

On a literary subject

I had intended to have informed you of a work I have made some progress in — “Sketches of Guatemala” — merely to make known to you that there have been some discoveries of ancient ruins in that country of a most interesting and curious character — for example.

The ruins of a splendid city, have been discovered, the buildings in which were of hewn stone and in a peculiar but chaste style of architecture. In one of those cities (for there are several) there has been found a structure of very considerable extent — *five stories* high — these buildings have cornices and architraves of delicately wrought mouldings — and by incidents discoverable in the distribution of the apartments, the various domestic offices and chambers are recognizable. But this is not all the wonder, there are *bas* and alto relievos of exquisite design, and of which the anatomical expression and symmetry of figure will bear comparison for correctness of taste and fidelity to nature, with any thing produced by the Grecian sculptors. One of those cities is 7

leagues in circumference—I have been speaking to the *lithographer* here about executing the drawings—but shall be unable to conclude with him—thro' the same necessity which compels me to look for a public office.

I begun the work when I became possessed of those and other materials, and with the access to the valuable Spanish library of R. W. Meade, Esq I am able to master the early history. The commercial history is but little known and the political less; as the two Viceroyalties of Mexico and N. Granada, had always combined to prevent the growth of Guatemala into consequence; so that it was better known under the rule of Cortes and his lieutenants, than during the last century. You must remember that Guatemala supplied Europe with Indigo—and that the success of the Indigo cultivation in the Carolinas rose upon the depression of Guatemala—tho' in our America that cause was not so well known; and that the trade of Carolina in Indigo was undermined by the French in Bengal, before Cotton came in to extinguish indigo as one of N. American staples, but Caracas is now, and Guatemala will before five years supplant Asia, and resume its former and merited preeminence in indigo; and in many other branches not generally suspected at this time. To the U States Guatemala is more important for commercial purposes than all the rest of Spanish America.

To Jefferson.

WASHINGTON, 19 October, 1824

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR,—I denied myself the pleasure of replying to your kind letter in answer to mine concerning the Pamphlet on “The two Americas” from an apprehension that you were already too much troubled by correspondence; the same motive would operate now did not an unutterable necessity induce me to the trespass as a refuge from despair.

The death of Samuel Clarke, the Naval officer of the Customs at Philadelphia died on Saturday last, and I arrived here this day to solicit the station. I addressed a letter to the President, as he had authorised me to do, which reached him yesterday, and it was too late on my arrival to wait upon him. But the letter was handed to him by Mr Lee under cover to whom he desired I should write.

I am apprehensive that interests more active than mine in Phil^a will prevail against me, unless your goodness should see it fit to interfere once more in my behalf with the President. I am thus apprehensive because when I had an interview in May last, and tendered several papers containing signatures of respectable Citizens of Phil^a and members of both chambers of Congress here, the President was so good as to say that they were not necessary. Therefore I brought none now.

But the President now has said that I must obtain signatures for this special office.

Here then am I involved in a double dilemma if I may so express it — There are several persons who have neither my experience nor any claims on the Score of service, but who have less scruples to seek signatures — and may seek them where I should not; again if it were required that I should return to obtain signatures my friends may be preoccupied; and if I were to go — travelling with the utmost economy I should reach my family with not more than \$3 — and I should find them with not much more — as after paying my debts and subsistence out of what I received here last winter — I had only 50 \$ left. Such are the strange vicissitudes of life; and it is in such circumstances that I was taken up as the Candidate of the Old Republicans in the recent Election for Members of Congress.

No man in the Union stands better in moral and mental estimation than I do with men of all parties in Phil^a, and it must be a consolation after nearly 30 years before the public that my son and myself should hold the place of preference among those who adhere to the principles of 1776 & 1800. But altho a Republic now means something, the rights of man is no longer a paradox and Democratic government is no longer Jacobinism; and those who formerly reprobated now use the language and profess the doctrine they reviled twenty four years ago; they do not *thank* those who aided in reforming their modes of speech; and as I was an idle spectator in the transactions which produced this *revolution in speech*, the very same men opposed me on this occasion who were opposed to you at that period and since. They do justice to my social character, but tho they profess to be all Republicans, all Federalists — they are not forgetful that I had shared in their conversion.

I had however a larger vote than M^r Swanwick, M^r M'Clenahan, capt W. Jones, or Jo. Clay — as two of the most populous and republican wards of the city in former times voted for those citizens, but are now attached to the District of Southwark. It is true a great number of the leading republicans of that period have passed away, but this shews that the principles of the Jefferson school has had in new generation successors of the same principles. It is a subject that I have never heard appreciated as it merits, that is, the effect of these principles gaining the ascendancy, for altho' the *votes* now are given in the same way as 20 years ago, the fundamental principles are no longer disputed nor reviled and the rising generation will receive them uncontaminated. It was to me a subject of peculiar interest to mark the contrast between the conduct of the same persons 24 years ago and on the recent reception of the virtuous La Fayette; at the former period I have known the license to be taken away from the old established tavern the Dean's Head, for no other trespass than permitting the Mar-

seilles hymn to be sung in the House — and yet it was the very same man that took away the license, that ordered the Marseilles Hymn to be performed upon the entré of La Fayette!

I fear my feelings have induced me to trespass on you more than was necessary; but I have been too many years accustomed to be affected in this way to be able to govern my feelings now — or to deny myself the gratification of such recollections.

I shall therefore not trespass on you further than to entreat — and I have never importuned you — may I now without wounding your goodness — entreat you to act in my favor in obtaining the station of Naval Officer in the place of Mr Clarke deceased. My wife and her four daughters look with melancholy anxiety to my visit here — a failure would leave us utterly destitute. With that station, \$2500 a year, I could occupy my leisure in finishing three or four works that must perish, if I should be abandoned now.

With the utmost affection and respect

Your friend & Ser^t

W^M DUANE

To Jefferson.

PHIL^A 8 Nov^r 1824

RESPECTED AND DEAR SIR, — That condition of humanity which supersedes all law is the apology which I offer for trespassing upon (you) again. I took the liberty of writing to you from Washington a few weeks ago, soliciting your good offices with the President in my behalf for an appointment to the vacant station of Naval Officer at this post.

The President is returned to the Seat of Government and the applications are very numerous, not less than fourteen, and interests are put in motion which I fear may prove too powerful for me, who during twenty six years made the public interest my sole concern and sacrificing all considerations, danger of life for five years of the first struggle — and devotion to public principles and public utility with an earnestness that contemplated its own good only in that of the public.

I need not speak of these things because you have constantly rendered justice to me, even when you could not suspect I should ever hear of the kindness with which you spoke. But on an occasion which is so every way serious to me as the only prospect which presents itself to rescue me, my wife, and four young females from absolute want — I am sure you will excuse me for iterating the circumstances on which I solicit your interference.

The President had repeatedly declared, as I was informed by the late Manuel Torres of Columbia, that “no man who had risen since the Revolution, had rendered such effective services as Col Duane” — yet his situation is no doubt a difficult one; and if what I have done for the

public were not such as would place me before any man who is an applicant on principles of justice I should have contented myself with placing my name before him.

I believe that my services in the critical period of the war (which I believe you will remember I long foresaw to be inevitable,) were of much greater moment to the Country than I have ever had justice done me in any acknowledgment. Yet it is a fact that by the sacrifices and labors which I then rendered, the knowledge of Military Affairs were more effectually and rapidly diffused thro' this nation than has ever occurred in a like space of time in any other nation yet — and it is not to complain — because this is not the time if I were disposed — yet I suffered even the honor which I earned, and the loss of all my expenditures and labors to be torn from me, without uttering a public murmur — tho' the measure towards me was a shocking act of injustice and injury — while the public was actually injured by the measures pursued to injure me — I was sacrificed to an intrigue in the army and the combined influence of those who while they professed to be the friends of the men in power never forgave me the part I took in producing the change. Having produced a revolution in military discipline — and my works being adopted by the Government, had this combination not succeeded those works would have afforded to my children a handsome income. Under the course I experienced, I was literally ruined — but I suffered in silence.

I need not draw any inference — but it is in the President's power to cure all my evils past and future — There is not a candidate opposed to me who has not a respectable income. Capt. W. Jones who is the principal opponent has \$2500 a year as President of an Insurance Company — and he has not a child to depend on him. He has held many offices of high trust — but when my life was daily exposed almost alone, he was not to be found in our ranks.

Major Jackson who held the station before, and whose conduct and merits have not bettered since, has his wife's fortune.

My Wife's fortune was sunk in the public cause — and she remains with four daughters a melancholy example of virtuous generosity and voluntary sacrifice. I am always

Your obed^t Ser^t

W^m DUANE

To William Lee.

18 Nov^r 1824

MY DEAR LEE, — The state in which I am placed must be my apology for not answering your two last before this time. My poor Wife driven by insupportable affliction has been confined to her bed for a week — and my poor girls appear sinking under the force of those

distresses which hitherto I have endeavored to confine to my own breast, but which now overcome me and them. This day I endeavored to borrow some money to lengthen out this state of misery which anxiety and hopelessness barely tolerates — My son being absent in the interior since his return from Washington — I could obtain — only $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a Dollar!! In such a state of affliction — I endeavored nevertheless to find the pamphlet you mentioned — but I have not been successful; There has been a great wreck of books and booksellers for several years, and it was mentioned to me, that some money and industry had been perceptibly employed in buying up the political productions of several years back; I examined several of the second hand book stores, but could not find *any publications of that description*, tho' I was anxious to procure what was wanted by Dr Cutting if possible — My state of mind and feeling is such that I am incapable of any effort of memory — and am much more disposed to *go to sleep* — and sleep for ever, than to dig up recollections which at every step would only bring me to compare what I have done and what I am suffering.

It would have been more magnanimous and charitable in the President to have said to me or told some one to tell me, he set no value upon my former services — that my sacrifices were not entitled to thanks — that he would not give me any public employment — than to leave me in this state of uncertainty and wretchedness — Had he done so, I might have had a newspaper that was tendered to me, at a season too when I was not so much broken down in my family and feelings as I now am, and to which after all, with all my detestation of the pursuit, I fear I must resort under circumstances less propitious — I dread it, because I write upon the heat of the mind, and when my heart throbs with agony and resentment and sense of injury I apprehend because I cannot control honest and indignant truth — I cannot simulate and hence anticipate — what I should do and how I should direct discussion if once embarked.

I have not been out of doors for the last week, but when I went out to *borrow* — and know nothing of what is going on —

My son returned on Monday — as he went — and as I anticipated — in fact I have given up all hope. Since Tho^s Jefferson's recommendation proves to be disregarded. You say that you have hopes yet — But you must know that if there was an earnest desire or intention to confer the office on me he would at once do it, and that he is in the habit of making appointments without any consultation — and that if he wished to do it he could do it without the least interference or inconvenience.

If it should happen as you say you expect in what refers to yourself — you need not have said a word on that subject to me as my mind is not indifferent to your generous efforts for my good — I am not liable

to be so much cast down as I am now — but it is not for my individual self I suffer.

Yrs ever

W D

*To Jefferson.*¹

PHILADELPHIA, 20 June, 1826

RESPECTED SIR, — I do myself the satisfaction of sending a copy of my book. I think I should hardly have ventured to put it forth had not your opinion on the matter of a letter addressed to Col. Randolph induced me, instead of continuing to write him as I had proposed to do, put it into the form of a book. I cannot anticipate whether it is well or ill done, or whether it is dull or interesting. I think that Sterne's idea of the temper with which a man goes to see a play, is equally good in going to see real life. I have endeavored not to tread in other men's tracks, and to relate honestly what I saw or knew to be true. The book is 132 pages larger than I had proposed to make it, yet eleven chapters written are still omitted; and I could make another volume, as I proposed treating more circumstantially of the government, the congress, their monstrous jurisprudence, their desire as well as the absolute necessity of a federative, instead of a central government, their money, their lands, the remnants of Spanish abuses, and despotic immorality, smuggling, the Isthmus of Panama, you will see in my preface that I have made propositions to affect that long talked of *Strait* of Panama. The house of Goldsmidt, principally he who lately died, was to be my back, along with a House at Rotterdam and another house at London. The public men, excepting *Pedro Gual*, Sec^y of State, and *Soublette*, Sec^y of War, are not men of business as business is done with us. They are, however, compared with the Spaniards *prodigious* men. Restrepo of the Interior is just such a man as you would like, enlightened, learned without the least pedantry, liberal to your whole measure, and above the common passions which despotism is apt to nourish and to create. The Sec^y of the Treasury, Castillo, is a rhetorician, and there they want a man of faculty the most. He asked my opinion on the best mode of finance, and he was surprised when I told him "*make roads, and leave systems till you have something to make systems of.*" But he was determined to have a system, and thus far, the search of system has left them without revenue, and 40,000,000 in debt. The real war debt did not amount to 10,000,000 \$ — it was ascertained when I was at Bogota. They have a passionate desire to imitate the U S. — *only where some habit has rendered it convenient not to follow it too closely.* The trial by jury and the freedom of the press they *adore* — if you believe them,

¹ Jeff. MSS.

but are utterly uninformed of the spirit and nature of the former as well as of the latter. I witnessed some very curious transactions in relation to both.

You will see that I have found a plant (*Erica*) which Humboldt and other naturalists say is not to be found in the new world.

The ideas of Humboldt on the native tribes I cannot concur in any more than Dr. Robertson's, who identifies them from Greenland to Patagonia. I found them cheerful amiable, laborious, hardy, carrying heavy burdens such as a London Porter would growl under: there are some of the race with long jaw bones and large nostrils; but the races generally are oval faced and in symmetry of structure equal to the Circassians, male and female. They abhor drunkenness. The only man I saw drunk in the country was a mulatto at a place called E-nimawn [?]

Excuse this hasty note.

Most affectionately yours.

*To Joseph Watson.*¹

24 July, 1827

DR SIR, — The cistern and pump for Schuylkill water on the west side of Sixth opposite Powell Street, are in a state which requires the attention of the proper authorities. In the severe frosts and thaws of February last, the neighborhood who drew water from that pump daily teased me, supposing that as a magistrate I had power to cause the evil to be corrected.

I addressed a note to Clerk, which was not even taken out of the Post office, and I waited myself on Mr. Rush; and Mr. Ramage who owns property applied also in consequence of representations made to him —

The pavement contiguous to this pump is bad, unequal and small stagnant pools remain which filtre into the cistern, and renders the Schuylkill water foul and fetid — the neighborhood is composed of poor people who have neither property nor servants; and it appears to me that the use of such water is likely to produce disease.

The cistern was opened three or four days ago and several buckets of filth, more like the feculence of a necessary, were thrown out, the filth was such that the labourer was under the necessity of carrying the bucket to another pump to wash it.

I am thus particular that the absolute necessity of attention to the case may be seen.

It appears to me that the filthy state of the Cistern requires an entire new one — and that in order to prevent the drains of the foul

¹ Mayor of Philadelphia. Duane was at this time an alderman.

gutters into the cistern the pavement should be so repaired as that no pools as at present may remain.

I am Sir, with Great Respect

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

No 160 S. Sixth Street Corner of Elizabeth S.

To John Henry Eaton.

PHILA 25th Jan. 1830.

DR SIR, — It was not my intention to trouble you with my notions on the concurrent preparations for events in Canada and elsewhere, conceiving that the mere outline of opinions urged are of themselves sufficient at least to induce a constant and careful use of eye and ear in relation to the topics themselves. The speech of Col. Benton on the 13th inst. has, however, afforded matter to strengthen my preexisting opinions, but recalled to my mind an anecdote which I will give you at once verbatim from a note made at the time I received it from Mr Torres the then minister of Columbia; I find that in the hurry I did not date it, a neglect not very usual with me, however the events give their own date.

The negotiations for the acquisition of Florida were conducted on our part by J. Q. Adams, who tho' aided by all the Documentary matter collected by Mr Jefferson in the Department committed a variety of blunders — if not worse. The Spanish negociator had not enough of confidence in his own knowledge to discuss the subject to his own satisfaction, and consulted the French minister Hyde de Neufville, who became the supplean of the *sick* Spaniard. In the progress of the discussion the supplean affected much ignorance, tho' it is well known he was possessed of the ample Documents of the celebrated Count de Vergennes on Louisiana and Florida, and the best existing maps of those regions. The question of navigating the Mississippi was introduced gently at first, and finally the *supplean* affecting great indifference requested Mr Adams himself to describe on the map how far the navigation would be admitted. Mr Adams drew a line commencing at the debouch of the Mississippi and ascending upwards was to embrace the mouth of the Arkansas, of course comprehending the Red River; De Neufville expressed a cold sort of satisfaction and the treaty thus formed was signed by the two negociators.

Having gained his point De Neufville hastened to the Spanish minister, and exulted explicitly in having accomplished the object and duping the American negociator. The Spanish minister suddenly recovered his health and called on President Monroe, pressing him to complete it by his signature. The treaty had not yet been presented for signature but it was called for, and Mr. Monroe on its perusal

absolutely refused to sign it—and is said to have expressed himself with bitter indignation that the point of all others upon which he was most proud of having effected, that of nationalizing the Mississippi, was here thro' ignorance, indifference, or design abandoned, and an attempt made to afford the British access under the Spanish flag to our interior & western regions—notifying explicitly his determination not to sign the treaty; and indicating that Mr Adams had been the dupe of Neufville. The question went off for a year; and the public clamor about Florida became excessive. Overtures for reconsidering the project were made by Mr Adams, but the Spanish minister would not consent unless some equivalent was given for the abandonment of the navigation. The negociation was renewed, and the surrender of Texas between Rio del Nord & the Sabine was the price of Mr Adams' What d'ye call it!

When the Spanish minister Andiaqua succeeded Vives, he repeatedly pressed Mr Adams to complete the Treaty by a survey establishing the exact boundary, the Spanish commissioners having arrived and being ready to proceed, Mr Adams wrote him that the matter did not depend on the executive but on Congress before whom all the requisite Documents had been laid, but had not legislated upon it.

Andiaqua replied by letter that the Sec^y was mistaken for Congress had not only legislated on it, but had made an express appropriation the preceding session. After several weeks Mr A returned an answer acknowledging his mistaking and making promises to appoint Commissioners soon—Andiaqua after waiting some months wrote Mr Adams that having no answer for so long a time, and the Spanish commissioners being here at great expence, they found it their duty to return home—and they were gone.

If a *just* history were written of the transactions from the first settlements on the coasts of N. England, it would furnish a picture not very well adapted to command respect or serve for a model of social virtue. In a brief way it may be truly said that the narrow clannish spirit had more influence and individual aggrandizement, more incitement in producing the revolt, than nobler virtues; the leading men saw themselves but a sort of fourth or fifth rate kind of characters as Colonials and anticipated that power which during the revolution and down to 1800 they exercised with the mercenary spirit of merchants and the malignity of the sacerdotal tribe. Mr Jefferson in one of his letters hits them off admirably. Like men who abused power and were expelled, they hate their adversaries; and all who are not with them are considered adversaries; they sought to retard the march of population with a view only to their local power—and as they cannot prevent they seek to retard. The motion of Mr Foot is in the spirit of the system and tho' it fails it serves the malcontent purpose of exciting jealousy and discontent east

of the Hudson — and it serves to generate a temper adapted to favor the design which I have dwelt on — a union of N. Eng. with Canada, where the Eastern men might ride rough-shod over the Canadians as they did till 1800 over the *Southrons*.

Do not suppose that I consider any open measures proper or required to counteract those designs — I only say they should be watched — treated like truant children — and without giving way to their malignant passions overcome with a kindness such as they would merit if their views were more large and generous. But that the design is nourished in silence I have no doubt whatever. They feel mortified not to have a head in a department, perhaps it would have been politic to have had one; but as it has turned out they have been taught that the government can be conducted without them, and that is a sad demonstration to them. Webster and such men are wounded, they felt like men converted into pigmies and their rivals Giants. I had in my mind to say something *new, simple, and important* on the subject of Banking — but it would not suit the department of money affairs.

And I intended to suggest the importance of adding to the topographical Department a *lithographic* department or apparatus; it would be not only useful beyond calculation but economical; it would like a similar establishment in the English war office be competent to the uses of all the other Departments. The Topographic Institution I am partial to, it is a child of my own, I begun it uncounselled, unordered and unpaid — and if I had no other consolation on earth the blessings it has conferred and must confer on the country would compensate all the adverse circumstances of my life. I believe I have tired you, and shall not bore you again unless you should ask my opinions on any matter my experience may have made me acquainted with. Respects to your good lady &

Accept my most sincere wishes

W^m DUANE

Addressed: "Private General Eaton."

Endorsed: "Wm. Duane to Gen. Jackson 25th Jan. 1830. History of Florida Treaty as derived from Torres, minister from Columbia."

[From the Andrew Jackson MSS.]

To — Templeman.

PHILA 25 May 1832

D^r SIR, — The pamphlet of Judge Clayton in answer to Mr M'Duffie, which you proposed taking out of a volume of pamphlets, is not I perceive in the parcel of pamphlets which you tied up for me; you will oblige me by placing it in the hands of R. C. Weightman for me and you may place Marsden's History of Sumatra with it, and he will pay you for me.

I have two sets of Mirabeau's *Monarchie Prussienne* or *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, one of the Sets in Octavo with a curious and beautiful Atlas. The quarto is in 4 large volumes blue paper — the Octavo in 8 vols bound; the atlas to each is the same folio; both in French.

I would exchange these, that is either set, for other approved books.

I have also the *Posthumous Works of Frederick II of Prussia*, translated into English by Thos Holcroft, in 13 vols. octavo neatly bound in calf, which I would sell or exchange and I have about 250 vols, folio, quarto and octavo of Military Books, many of them rare and exquisite, such as the *Campaigns of Leuxembourg*, containing more than 200 topographical plates exhibiting the plans of campaign battles, routes and marches embracing the whole of the Netherlands.

There are also several quarto, with plates as *Puysegur*, *Monticuculi*, *Condé*, *Turenne*, and others.

I have also *Jomini's Military Memoirs* in French published before his desertion to the coalesced powers, and three of the four Volumes translated into English, as I stopt translating upon his desertion. The books are now more valuable as he has lately published a new edition, from which he has excluded all his acknowledgments to the *Genius of Napoleon*.

I would sell all these or exchange them for approved books and at a very reasonable rate.

Do not omit to place Judge Clayton's pamphlet & Marsden in Mr Weightman's hands — and you'll oblige

Your obed Ser^t

W^m DUANE

Endorsed: "Col. Wm. Duane, Editor of the Philadelphia '*Aurora*,' Author of the '*Continuation of Gifford's History of France*.'"

Circular.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1834.

SIR, — The object of this letter is an appeal to the good sense of the Republican men of this Union: In exigencies we are energetic — the moment we have triumphed we decline into confidence, imagine that every thing is accomplished, and that we shall have peace and quiet forever. These errors might be demonstrated by repeated instances in our short history. It is not the business of this paper to do so; but to invite to a consideration of the evils with which the country is menaced now by the undisguised and audacious corruption of the United States Bank.

In 1826, the undersigned, habitually accustomed to mark the floods and fluxes of opinion and action in free States, attempted to enter upon the arena and repeat the part he had acted in the memorable

struggle for political life or death from 1797 to 1800. The public mind was not in advance of events with me. I foresaw the struggle that was about to be renewed. The people, reposing on their own prosperity, either did not reflect, or did not duly regard the appeal then made to them — and the attempt then made to revive the *Aurora* was a failure; — not from want of principle in the people — not from a want of devotion to free institutions; — but they felt too confident of their power whenever it should become necessary to exert it.

But out of this too confident repose have grown enormous evils. The tranquillity of the people has been mistaken for debasement and servility; the mercenary spirit has been active, while the free spirit has been tolerant and unsuspicious; and it was not until a vice, generated by the inexperienced application of the powers of government in the infancy of our institutions, became so enormous as to render uncommon energies of wisdom and courage, and disinterested devotion, necessary to arrest the devastation which it menaced, that the people have been awakened.

Anticipating this crisis long, I had endeavored to act through the existing presses, and sought to call attention to the danger which menaced the country. It is not said in malevolence, but in truth, that the apathy of society at large had lured the existing presses into a belief that the people had become indifferent to that freedom without which all things cease to be precious or become ridiculous, I could find no channel through which to speak to the country. Failing there, I resolved to throw myself once more upon the public arena, and as in 1798 without solicitation — but upon the naked merits of the undertaking to attempt once more to meet and aid in arresting the inroads upon the sacred liberties of the country.

The first Number of the *AURORA*, revived, was issued in July, and 29 Numbers have been issued since — of the quality *of the publication*, and its *probable utility*, it is not for the Editor to speak. But it becomes me in the same spirit which inspired the undertaking to speak to the friends of freedom with candor, frankness, and unreserve. — The subscription has not fulfilled the expectations nor the purposes of the Editor.

In this city, the centre of Bank influence and power, where the *AURORA*, in 1798, had *seventeen hundred* subscribers, in 1834, it has not *three hundred and fifty*! This contrast may be accounted for by very obvious causes — some innocent, some the contrary. In 1798, the *AURORA* stood alone — the Democratic papers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, were prostrated by the imprisonment and ruin of the editors; and in the case of Boston by the death of the Editor of the *Boston Chronicle*. There was then no rivalry where ruin was to be the reward of fidelity to the public. Worldly prudence

now governs where money has not been directly interposed, and a sort of tacit compromise has taken place between the enemies of the press and some of the professed advocates of liberty. These interests go hand in hand with others less notorious, but holding much influence; and for a scanty portion of advertising favor, a sort of passivity of the press is accomplished, without the odium but with the fetters of a bribe.

It will be, therefore, perceived that a press which proclaims an honest war against all compromises and declares an interminable and inextinguishable hostility to the Bank — must be opposed by the Bank, and by all who expect discounts, or to rise to office or influence by sinister means.

These are the causes which explain the scanty subscription of the *AURORA*, in 1834; and it also explains by what fatuity there has been drawn off by Bank credits, a sufficient number of Democratic votes to give this beautiful and celebrated city up to a corruption that rivals that of the city of the Sybarites.

It would be tiresome to describe the many artifices, of the most unworthy, indeed, the most contemptible kind, which have been resorted to, to arrest the success of the *AURORA*, among which, it is painful — though it is too true not to be revealed — to discover the *hands of false friends*. In such a case, the manly course is to be open, explicit, and above board. The *AURORA* must not depend upon a corrupt city, but upon an honest country. The city interests are selfish and contracted — those of the country are large and diffusive; and it must depend on the country whether the *AURORA* shall continue to maintain those broad principles of freedom, prosperity, and knowledge which obtained for it, in former times, so much applause, and in this day so many testimonies of a generous remembrance.

The subscription has not been adequate to enable me to fulfil my intentions, expressed in my prospectus; and those who have subscribed, in too many instances, have not fulfilled the obligation which they entered into, of paying in advance, without which it was manifest from my fair avowals, it was impossible I could go on.

Here, then, is the case which has called forth this unreserved appeal; and I shall now as candidly state what I deem necessary to be understood by every man who values the freedom of the press.

The combinations formed by disappointed and ambitious men in the South, the West, and the East, have concentrated their several kinds of hostility with that paper power, to which a false policy has given the force of law. The hatred and discord of the triumvirate, like that of other triumvirates known in history, have been merged in the Bank; seeking the reestablishment of that all corrupting instrument, they silence their several pretensions, resolved first to create general distrac-

tion, and then to contend for that domination against each other, of which they have already shown themselves utterly unworthy.

This *focus of faction* legally ceases on the 4th of March, 1836, only thirteen months after the next meeting of Congress. The business of these *combined powers*, in the intermediate time, will be to promote public distraction, extravagance, and discontent, not so much from the expectation of overcoming the decided sentence of the public upon the Bank, in the election just closed, as to prepare such a state of disorder and distraction between the period of the natural death of the Bank, and the retirement of ANDREW JACKSON from the station which he has so much honored and merited, as may afford them an occasion to set the will of the majority at defiance, as in 1824.

The actual contest is for every thing that is sacred, as it was in 1798; the means of gaining public power by contempt for the people, and disregard of constitutional laws, are the same; and we have in addition the introduction of secret armaments during an Election, and open murder in the very streets of our city. Such a combination, and such practices, must be met with the spirit which they provoke; but unless the centinels of the people be decided as well as faithful—the consequences may be more easily imagined than described.

This is the ground I stand upon—and it remains with the country, which is neither contaminated by the Bank nor debauched by a servility to ambitious men, always fatal to republics, to say whether the AURORA shall continue its career, or sink under the influence of the want of energy and disinterestedness in the people, and the greater activity and influence of the political arts which now govern and disgrace the press and threaten the destruction of every vestige of public liberty.

As I am habitually unreserved, I say at once that the subscription to the AURORA should be augmented at least 400 to enable me to go on; 500 would be preferable, if it were 5000 I should apply it—not to my own use—for a man of 75 has few wants and no motives of ambition beyond the consolations of the past.

Forty gentlemen, who would agree to obtain ten subscribers each—or eighty, or even five or ten in detached districts, who should undertake to obtain five each, would realize the efficacy of the division of labor, and serve themselves and their country.

If there be such men in the country, and that there are I know, but know not how to reach them, the object could be accomplished and the friends of freedom have the guarantee of forty years' consistency and rectitude for the fulfilment of the engagements which the undertaking was based upon.

WILLIAM DUANE.